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BACCHYLIDES
A SELECTION

EDITED BY H. MAHLER

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In memory of W. S. Barrett

CONTENTS

<i>Preface</i>	<i>page</i> ix
<i>List of abbreviations</i>	x
Introduction	i
1 <i>Choral lyric poetry and its public</i>	i
2 <i>Festivals and games</i>	4
3 <i>Bacchylides' life and works</i>	9
4 <i>Language and prosody</i>	10
5 <i>Metre</i>	14
6 <i>Style</i>	18
7 <i>Alexandrian scholarship and the fate of the text</i>	25
8 <i>The surviving papyri</i>	28
9 <i>Sigla and editorial conventions</i>	31
ΒΑΚΧΥΛΙΔΟΥ ΕΠΙΝΙΚΟΙ	33
3 ΙΕΡΩΝΙ ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΙ ΙΠΠΟΙΣ [ΟΛΥ]ΜΠΙΑ	33
4 ΤΩΙ ΑΥΤΩΙ <ΙΠΠΟΙΣ> ΠΥΘΙΑ	37
5 <ΤΩΙ ΑΥΤΩΙ ΚΕΛΗΤΙ ΟΛΥΜΠΙΑ>	38
6 ΛΑΧΩΝΙ ΚΕΙΩΙ <ΠΑΙΔΙ> ΣΤΑΔΙΕΙ ΟΛΥΜΠ[ΙΑ	46
11 ΑΛΕΞΙΔΑΜΩΙ ΜΕΤΑΠΟΝΤΙΝΩΙ ΠΑΙΔΙ ΠΑΛΛΙΣΤΗΙ ΠΥΘΙΑ	47
ΒΑΚΧΥΛΙΔΟΥ ΔΙΟΤΡΑΜΒΟΙ	53
15 ΑΝΘΗΝΟΡΙΔΑΙ Η ΕΛΕΝΗΣ ΑΠΑΙΤΗΣΙΣ	53
16 [ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ (vel ΔΗΙΑΝΕΙΡΑ ?) ΕΙΣ ΔΕΛΦΟΥΣ]	55
17 ΗΙΘΕΟΙ Η ΘΗΣΕΥΣ <ΚΗΙΟΙΣ ΕΙΣ ΔΗΛΟΝ>	57
18 ΘΗΣΕΥΣ <ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΙΣ>	62
19 ΙΩ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΙΣ	64
20 ΙΔΑΣ ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΙΣ	67
ΠΑΙΑΝ	68
fr. 22 + fr. 4 [ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ ΠΥΘΑΙΕΙ ΕΙΣ ΑΣΙΝΗΝ]	68
ΠΡΟΣΟΔΙΟΝ	71
fr. 11 + fr. 12	71

ΕΓΚΩΜΙΑ (?)	72
fr. 20A	72
fr. 20B [ΑΛΕΞΑ]Ν[ΔΡΩΙ ΑΜΥΝΤ]Α	73
fr. 20C [Ι]ΕΡΩΝΙ [ΣΥ]ΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΙ	74
fr. 20D	75
Commentary	77
Appendix: <i>Vases referred to in the Commentary</i>	260
<i>Works cited</i>	264
<i>Indexes</i>	273

PREFACE

The poetry of Bacchylides, Simonides' nephew, was unfavourably compared to that of his contemporary, Pindar, by Ps.Longinus (περὶ ὕψους 33.5), and even after the publication of the great London papyrus by F. G. Kenyon in 1897 modern commentators have tended to criticize Bacchylides for not being sufficiently like Pindar. In truth, however, the two poets are very different stylistically, even in their victory odes where they necessarily conform to the same set of conventions; comparison of their dithyrambs is scarcely possible, as none of Pindar's are preserved complete. In fact, the first five of Bacchylides' dithyrambs are the only complete (or nearly complete) specimens of this important genre from the first half of the fifth century BCE.

To do justice to the qualities of Greek choral lyric poetry, one has to bear in mind the function of the respective literary genre (victory ode, praise poem, cult song, etc.) and the aims which the poet was expected to achieve within each genre. An unbiased approach to Bacchylides' poems will show him not as a lesser Pindar, but as an imaginative, original and highly accomplished poet in his own right.

The present selection is based on my complete edition with commentary in two parts: *Die Lieder des Bakchylides: I Die Siegeslieder* (1982), II *Die Dithyramben und Fragmente* (1997). That commentary has here been revised and adapted to the interests and needs of an English-speaking academic but non-specialist readership.

It is a pleasure to thank Professors P. E. Easterling and R. Hunter, whose guidance and constructive comments have greatly improved my draft and whose meticulous scrutiny of my typescript has cleansed it of many inaccuracies and inconsistencies. Thanks are also due to Dr Michael Sharp and especially to my copy-editor, Ms Muriel Hall, whose watchful eye has spotted many oversights. My greatest debt of gratitude is to the late W. S. Barrett, who communicated the results of his own unpublished research into problems of text or interpretation to me and allowed me to make use of them in the most generous way. I dedicate this volume to his memory.

H. Maehler

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>ABL</i>	C. H. E. Haspels, <i>Attic black-figured lekythoi</i> (Paris 1936)
<i>ABV</i>	J. D. Beazley, <i>Attic black-figure vase painters</i> (Oxford 1956)
<i>Add.</i>	T. H. Carpenter, <i>Beazley Addenda</i> (2nd edn., Oxford 1989)
<i>ARV²</i>	J. D. Beazley, <i>Attic red-figure vase painters</i> (2nd edn., Oxford 1963)
<i>BKT IX</i>	G. Ioannidou, <i>Catalogue of Greek and Latin Literary Papyri in Berlin</i> (<i>Berliner Klassikertexte IX</i> , Mainz 1996)
<i>Coll.Alex.</i>	J. U. Powell, <i>Collectanea Alexandrina</i> (Oxford 1925)
<i>CPG</i>	<i>Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum</i> ed. E. L. von Leutsch and F. G. Schneidewin, 2 vols. (Göttingen 1839 and 1851)
<i>CVA</i>	<i>Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum</i>
<i>FGrHist</i>	F. Jacoby, <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> (Berlin–Leiden 1923–58)
<i>G.–P.</i>	B. Gentili and C. Prato, <i>Poetae elegiaci</i> , 2 vols. (Leipzig 1979 and 1985)
<i>IEG</i>	M. L. West, <i>Iambi et elegi graeci ante Alexandrum cantati</i> (2nd edn., Oxford 1992)
<i>IG</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i>
Jebb	R. C. Jebb, <i>Bacchylides, The poems and fragments</i> (Cambridge 1905)
Kenyon	<i>The poems of Bacchylides</i> ed. F. G. Kenyon (London 1897)
K–B	R. Kühner–F. Blass, <i>Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache, 1. Teil: Elementar- und Formenlehre</i> , 2 vols. (3rd edn., Hannover 1890–92)
K–G	R. Kühner–B. Gerth, <i>Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache, 2. Teil: Satzlehre</i> , 2 vols. (3rd edn., Hannover 1898)
<i>LIMC</i>	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i>

LSJ	H. G. Liddell–R. Scott–H. S. Jones, <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> (Oxford 1940)
OCD ³	<i>Oxford Classical Dictionary</i> 3rd edn. by S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth (Oxford 1996)
<i>Ox.Pap.</i>	<i>The Oxyrhynchus Papyri</i>
<i>Para</i>	J. D. Beazley, <i>Paralipomena</i> (2nd edn., Oxford 1971)
PCG	<i>Poetae Comici Graeci</i> ed. R. Kassel and C. Austin (Berlin 1983–98)
PEG	<i>Poetae Epici Graeci</i> , vol. 1 ed. A. Bernabé (Leipzig 1987)
PLF	<i>Poetarum Lesbiorum fragmenta</i> ed. E. Lobel and D. Page (Oxford 1955)
PMG	<i>Poetae Melici Graeci</i> ed. D. L. Page (Oxford 1962)
PMGF	<i>Poetarum Melicorum Graecorum fragmenta</i> ed. M. Davies (Oxford 1991)
PSI	<i>Papiri della Società Italiana</i>
RE	<i>Pauly's Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i>
SH	<i>Supplementum Hellenisticum</i> ed. H. Lloyd-Jones and P. J. Parsons (Berlin 1983)
SLG	<i>Supplementum Lyricis Graecis</i> ed. D. Page (Oxford 1974)
TrGF	<i>Tragicorum graecorum fragmenta</i> , 1 ed. B. Snell (<i>Didascaliae etc., fragmenta tragicorum minorum</i> , Göttingen 1971, 1986), II ed. R. Kannicht and B. Snell (<i>Adespota</i> , 1981), III ed. S. Radt (Aeschylus), IV ed. S. Radt (Sophocles, 1985, 1999)

Abbreviated titles of periodicals, where not self-explanatory, are cited as in *L'année philologique*.

INTRODUCTION

I. CHORAL LYRIC POETRY AND ITS PUBLIC

‘Greek poetry differed profoundly from modern poetry in content, form, and methods of presentation. An essentially practical art, it was closely linked to the realities of social and political life, and to the actual behaviour of individuals within a community. It rendered the poet’s own experience as well as that of others, but was not private poetry in the modern sense. It drew regularly for its themes on myth, which was at once the sole subject matter of narrative and dramatic poetry and a constant point of paradigmatic reference in lyric.’¹ In the Greek world from the second millennium to the fourth century BCE, poetry was characterized by two essential features: it was sung, and it was transmitted orally. Poetry was sung from memory, not from written texts, and listened to, not read. Although systems of writing existed, they were not essential to the performance or to the reception of song; what role, if any, writing played in the composition of poetry in Homer’s time and in the subsequent three centuries, we cannot tell; it was, of course, vital for the preservation of the texts, without the music. The oral character of Greek poetry down to the ‘classical’ age is a fundamental feature of Greek culture.

To Homer, all poetry is ‘song’ (ᾠδή or μολπή). In the *Odyssey*, ᾠδή also means ‘singing’: to the epic bards, the song and the activity that creates it are the same; typically for the culture of ‘oral poetry’, the song only exists as it is being sung. Alkman and Archilochos (seventh century BCE) are the first to use μέλος to designate the ‘song’ as distinct from its performance. It seems that by this time only μέλη, i.e. poems in metres which we call ‘lyric’ (see below, pp. 14–17), were sung, while epic and iambic poetry was recited. The composers of *sung* poetry were called μελοποιοί or μελικοί (sc. ποιηταί). The term ‘lyric’, derived from ‘lyre’ (λύρα), is not found before the Hellenistic age; it is imprecise, since ‘lyric’ songs were sung not only to the lyre but to a variety of instruments, including the double oboe (αὐλοί).

‘Lyric’ poetry is performed either by a solo singer (‘monodic lyric’), or by a choir (‘choral lyric’). The distinction is determined by the function of

¹ Gentili, *Poetry and its public* 3.

the song and the circumstances of its performance. In very general terms, monodic songs tend to be addressed to a restricted, private audience, or to one person, or to the poet's own self, whereas choral songs are aimed at a wider public, often the local community which has gathered either for a religious festival, or to celebrate an athletic or hippic victory of one of its citizens. While monodic songs often purport to convey the poet's own experiences, thoughts and feelings to persons close to him or her, choral songs give voice to the collective views, aspirations, and feelings of the community for which they have been composed. Many of them are cult songs, performed in honour of a god or hero as an expression of the community's veneration; the singers of a dithyramb or paean, whether in their home city or at Delphi or on Delos, sing as representatives of their city. This is true not only for songs composed for religious celebrations (εἰς θεούς), but also for those celebrating a fellow citizen (εἰς ἀνθρώπους). Such compositions, which included victory odes (ἐπινικοί or ἐπινίκια), songs of praise (ἐγκώμια), or dirges (θρήνοι), are also addressed to a public audience in the sense that a success, for example, at one of the panhellenic festivals (which were, of course, also religious festivals) added to the pride and prestige of the whole city and was celebrated not only by the victor's family and friends but by the whole citizen body. This explains why Bacchylides' and Pindar's victory odes often combine praise of the victor with a mythical narrative linked to his city, or to the place of his victory. The victory thus appears as proof that the victor has shown himself worthy of the great deeds of his mythical ancestors. Bacchylides' ode 11 is a particularly clear illustration of the interrelation of the victor's praise and mythical narrative.

The intrinsically public character of the victory ode also explains why the poet's general statements (γνώμια), which normally provide transitions from one section of the ode to the next, are to be understood as general truths handed down from past generations to which everyone present can subscribe. In that respect, their function is comparable to that of the choruses in Handel's *Messiah* or Bach's *St. Matthew Passion*.

All choral lyric poetry, from Alkman to Pindar and B., is public and representative poetry, comparable in that respect to statues and other monuments dedicated in the sanctuaries of Delphi or Olympia, in the sense that they are public and representative art. Both poetry and art strive to create images that will be recognized by the citizens as ideal representations. In the sixth and early fifth centuries, the statue of an athlete is not an individual portrait but a young Athenian's or Aiginetan's ideal image that will

immortalize his achievement (ἄρετή), enhancing his city's prestige (κῦδος); similarly, a dithyramb that narrates the exploits of its principal hero will be perceived as an image of the city's greatness.

The society on whose behalf statues and choral odes were commissioned was the educated and wealthy upper class of the aristocratic city states. Not only was their wealth based, as it had been in the feudal society reflected in Homer, on land ownership and agriculture, but it was created increasingly by overseas trade and the introduction of a monetary economy. As Gentili has argued, 'the new wealth favored the arts in general, painting and sculpture as well as poetry, though not so much for their own sake as out of a desire for prestige and power. For the rich nobleman or city aristocrat and, above all, for the tyrant, the artist's work was a means of increasing status and consolidating political position.'² If one of them commissioned a victory ode, the poet had to take his requirements into account in deciding what myth would be appropriate to the occasion and acceptable to his patron, and what would be the most successful way of presenting it – successful, that is, in terms of public appreciation by the community which his patron represented.

Cult songs, such as dithyrambs, hymns, or paeans, are different. They were commissioned not by individuals but by communities; Pindar's *Paeans* are addressed 'To the Delphians', 'To the Thebans' etc., which implies that these communities had commissioned them. However, the poet's situation was essentially the same; he had to consider what would appeal most to his audience. This was particularly important if the performance was part of a competition, as was the case with the dithyrambs performed at the Dionysiac festivals in Athens. It seems that the great festival of Apollo on Delos, the Δῆλια or Ἀπολλώνια, also included a competition of choral poetry, as the end of B.17 suggests. Even though in Athens, at any rate, festivals had changed, after the constitutional reforms of Kleisthenes in 509 BCE,³ from occasions for celebrating a tyrant's greatness to occasions for celebrating the city's glory, and in that sense had become more inclusive and 'democratic', the dithyrambs and paeans of Pindar and Bacchylides remained 'elitist'; both poets composed for a well-educated, knowledgeable and discerning audience, and their choral songs were designed to appeal to quite sophisticated tastes.

² Gentili, *Poetry and its public* 115.

³ Cf. Hignett, *Athenian constitution* 124ff.

After the middle of the fifth century, however, when most of the Greek city states became democracies, their societies also changed. The class of wealthy and ambitious noblemen, which had dominated the political and cultural life of Greece in the sixth and the early part of the fifth century and produced 'tyrants' like Polykrates of Samos, Peisistratos of Athens and Hieron of Syracuse, gradually lost its political power and cultural influence. Its demise meant that the traditional form of choral lyric poetry lost its patrons and its scope. The athletes who gained victories at Olympia or Delphi now came from different backgrounds; increasingly, the 'upper class' amateur was replaced by the professional champion who travelled from one festival to another, collecting prizes, rather like professional tennis players today. In Athens, the traditional dithyramb gave way to tragedy and comedy, which appealed to a wider public.

2. FESTIVALS AND GAMES

(a) *Festivals*

Everyday life in Greece was articulated by recurring festivals. These were the occasions when a community would come together to celebrate a god or hero with whom it had a particular link. The celebration often involved a procession (πομπή) and the presentation of an object, such as the *peplos* which was carried in the Panathenaic procession and presented to Athena on the Acropolis (see introd. to ode 15, p. 157), or of sheaves of wheat-stalks presented at the *Apollonia* on Delos (cf. Herodotos 4.33.1).

Dancing in groups and hymns sung by choruses are basic elements of Greek festivals, and taking an active part in them 'was part of community life, a way of learning a city-state's religious traditions and expressing one's devotion to the recognized gods.'⁴ The hymn is also, like the Panathenaic *peplos* or the Delian wheat-sheaf, a votive offering, intended to please the god or goddess and win his/her favour toward the chorus and the community. Walter Burkert describes its function in these terms: 'The hymn must always delight the god afresh at the festival; therefore for dance and hymn there must always be someone who makes it, the poet, *poiētes*. The literary genre of choral lyric, which can be traced from the end of the seventh century, accordingly develops from the practice of the cult and culminates

⁴ Furley and Bremer, *Greek hymns* 1 21; see also Cartledge 1985.

in the first half of the fifth century in the work of Pindar. The invocation of the gods, the enunciation of wishes and entreaties, is interwoven ever more artfully with mythical narratives and topical allusions to the festival and chorus. Already in the seventh century, several choruses are competing for the honour of performing the most beautiful hymn – with the costuming of the chorus then also playing its role. The religious function, the relationship with the gods, is in danger of being lost in the rivalry; but all are well convinced that the gods, like men, take a delighted interest in the contest.⁵

Paeans and dithyrambs are particular types of hymns. Traditionally, paeans are hymns addressed to Apollo, Artemis or Leto, while dithyrambs are hymns addressed to Dionysos. The earliest description of a paean being performed is in *Iliad* 1.472–4, where the young Achaeans, after the priest's prayer to Apollo for an end to the plague, 'propitiated the god all day long by singing a beautiful paean; they sang of the far-reacher, and he was pleased in his mind as he listened.' Three typical elements are evident here: (1) all the warriors are singing together as a chorus, (2) they are young (κοῦροι Ἀχαιῶν) and (3) they sing for the sake of protecting or saving their community.⁶ According to a recent survey of the genre,⁷ performing paeans had three main social functions: (1) articulating a sense of community among the members, (2) training for hoplite warfare, and (3) transmitting civic values from one generation to the next. Whether Bacchylides' Paean (frs. 4 + 22), composed for performance at the old sanctuary of Apollo Pythaeus at Asine in the Argolid, followed the traditional pattern, we cannot tell, as its beginning and end are lost. There is, however, a distinct possibility that the wonderful praise of peace (lines 61–80) was relevant to the circumstances of its performance: if the ten lines missing at the end contained another address to Apollo, it may have been a prayer for peace to be preserved or restored.

The dithyramb, first mentioned by Archilochos (fr. 120 W.) as a 'song of Dionysos', seems to have been given its definitive form towards the end of the sixth century, apparently by Lasos of Hermione.⁸ As far as its content is concerned, there is evidence to suggest that in the sixth century its main characteristic was an extended mythical narrative, for Ibykos is said to have told in a dithyramb how Helen fled into the temple of Aphrodite and from

⁵ Burkert, *Greek religion* 103.

⁷ Rutherford, *Paeans* 61–2.

⁶ Cf. Furley & Bremer 190–1.

⁸ Cf. D'Angour 1997: 346–50.

there spoke to Menelaos, whereupon he, conquered by love, threw away his sword (*PMG* 296). The mythical narrative is the main feature of the extant dithyrambs of Pindar and B., which all have titles indicating their subject matter. Such titles were an innovation of the sixth century, attributed to Arion (about 625–585 BCE) by Herodotos, who claimed that Arion was ‘the first of men whom we know to have composed the dithyramb and named it and produced it in Corinth’ (καὶ διθύραμβον πρῶτον ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν ποιήσαντά τε καὶ ὀνομάσαντα καὶ διδάξαντα ἐν Κορίνθῳ, 1.23); the controversial term ὀνομάσαντα is interpreted by the *Suda* as ‘he named what the chorus sang’ (λέγεται . . . ὀνομάσαι τὸ αἰδόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ χοροῦ).⁹ One of Simonides’ dithyrambs (*PMG* 539) had the title ‘Memnon’.¹⁰ In Pindar and B., some of the extant titles also name the community or city which had commissioned the dithyramb: [Κ]ᾶτ[ά] [β]ασις] ‘Ηρακλέ[ε]υ[ς] ἢ Κέρβερος Θηβαίοις (Pindar, fr.70b), ‘Ιὼ Ἀθηναίοις (B. 19), ‘Ιδ[ας] Λακεδαιμονίοις (B. 20).

The most obvious difference between the dithyrambs of Pindar and B. is that Pindar’s, as far as we can tell from the extant fragments, refer to Dionysos and his cult, whereas those of B. do not – the only exception being B. 19 which gives a very brief genealogy of Dionysos at the end. One must, however, beware of generalizations, as none of the Pindaric dithyrambs survives complete and the number and extent of the fragments is quite limited. As for B., it is not clear why his dithyrambs omit the cletic invocations and other references to Dionysos and consist almost entirely of narrative or, in ode 18, of strophic dialogue. One might speculate that in the odes B. composed for Athens (15, 17, 18, 19)¹¹ he was following the example of Attic tragedy which had loosened its original connection with the cult of Dionysos and widened its scope to narrate myths that could help create an Athenian civic identity. Be that as it may, the difficulties which some Alexandrian scholars experienced in classifying these odes (see below on papyrus **B** in Section 8, and introd. to ode 17, p. 173) stem from their lack of distinguishing formal features. Ode 17, for instance, classified as a dithyramb, may in reality have been conceived as a paean, even though it

⁹ Cf. Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb* 12; van der Weiden, *Dithyrambs* 2–3; Ieranò, *Ditirambo* 189.

¹⁰ Cf. Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb* 17; Ieranò, *Ditirambo* 195.

¹¹ Whether 16, the ode with the closest affinity to Attic tragedy, was composed for Athens is uncertain; see p. 165.

lacks the ritual refrain ἢ παῖόν. The disagreement between Kallimachos and Aristarchos (see p. 27) about the ‘Kassandra’ (see below, Section 8) shows that Aristarchos had identified mythical narrative as the defining feature of the dithyramb.

(b) *Games*

Athletic competitions are described in Homer. The funeral games in honour of Patroklos (*Iliad* 23.250–897) and the contests held by the Phaeacians to entertain their guest, Odysseus (*Odyssey* 8.109–233), have no direct connection with religious festivals, but seem to be inspired simply by the Greeks’ desire to compete for ‘first prize’, which is so tellingly summed up by Peleus’ advice to his son, Achilles: αἰὲν ἀριστεύειν καὶ ὑπείροχον ἔμμεναι ἄλλων (‘always to be the best and pre-eminent among all others’, *Iliad* 11.784). The oldest Greek hexameter inscription, thought to be contemporary with Homer,¹² sets out a prize for a dancing competition. Competitors not only hope to win, but want to be seen winning, so it was natural to hold these competitions at places and on occasions where a crowd of people would come together. In Greece, such occasions were primarily the numerous festivals in honour of gods or heroes, which attracted all kinds of contests: beauty-contests for girls, athletic contests for men and boys in different age-groups, musical contests for oboe- and kithara-players and singers, and in Athens stage-productions of dithyrambs, tragedies and comedies.

From the sixth century BCE, the four most prominent festivals became known as ‘Panhellenic’ festivals because they attracted visitors from all over the Greek world. They were the *Olympia*, held in honour of Zeus at Olympia in the north-western Peloponnese; the *Pythia* at Delphi in honour of Apollo; the *Isthmia* near Corinth, for Poseidon; and the *Nemeia* in honour of Zeus, held at Nemea, about half-way between Argos and Corinth. In Greek mythology, these games are also linked to funeral games honouring a local hero, such as Pelops or Oinomaos at Olympia, Archemoros at Nemea, or Palaimon on the Isthmus; the mythical origin of the Pythian games is traced back to the killing of the dragon, Python, by Apollo.¹³

¹² Athens, Nat. Mus. 192; *IG* I² 919; Jeffery, *Local scripts* 76 no.1 and pl.1; Immerwahr, *Attic script* p. 7 no.1 and pl.1,1.

¹³ W. Burkert, *Greek religion* 106.

The *Olympia* and *Pythia* were held every four years (Greek chronology reckoned in ‘Olympiads’, i.e. the numbered four-year periods which were counted from the year when the *Olympia* were thought to have been founded, 776 BCE; the *Pythia* began in 582). The *Isthmia* and *Nemeia* were held every two years, from 582 and 573 respectively. At Olympia, the festival of Zeus lasted for five days, but the preparations took the best part of a year. The ten organizers and judges, called *Hellānodikai* (‘Judges of the Greeks’ – only ethnic Greeks were allowed to compete), were chosen by lot; during the last month before the festival, they supervised the competitors in a strict regime of training. After the swearing-in of the competitors and judges on the morning of the first day, the festival programme included the following events:¹⁴

Contests for heralds and trumpeters held near the stadium entrance. Boys’ running, wrestling, and boxing contests. Prayers and sacrifices in the Altis, including the official sacrifice of one hundred oxen at the altar of Zeus; consultation of oracles. Orations by well-known philosophers and recitals by poets and historians. Chariot- and horse-races in the hippodrome. Pentathlon (discus, javelin, jumping, running, and wrestling). Funeral rites in honour of the hero Pelops. Parade of victors and singing of victory odes. Foot-races and races in armour, wrestling, boxing, pankration (a combination of boxing and wrestling). On the last day, the victors were crowned with wreaths of wild olive by the *Hellānodikai* in the temple of Zeus.

The programme of the *Pythia* originally consisted of just one contest: the singing of a hymn to Apollo; after its reorganization in 582 BCE it included other musical contests: singing to the kithara, kithara-playing, and aulos(oboe)-playing. The athletics programme was similar to that of the *Olympia* (the chariot- and horse-races were held in the plain below Delphi, at Krisa). The prize was a crown of bay-leaves. The *Isthmia* and *Nemeia* also included musical and poetic competitions, athletics programmes similar to those of the *Olympia* and *Pythia*, and chariot- and horse-races. The prize was a crown of celery-leaves.

¹⁴ Adapted here from Swaddling, *Olympic Games* 37; see also Lee, *Olympic Games*.

3. BACCHYLIDES' LIFE AND WORKS

Very little is known about B.'s life and dates. His home town was Iulis on the island of Keos off the south-eastern tip of Attica. His mother was a sister of the poet Simonides (557/6–468/7 BCE); even if she was up to ten years younger than her brother, she would have been unlikely to have had children after about 516. In fact, B. may have been born around 520, given that two of his poems, ode 17 and the *enkomion* for the young prince Alexandros, son of King Amyntas of Macedonia (fr. 20B), can be dated to the early 490s; this would make him closely contemporary with Pindar, who was born in 518. The assumption, made in some late Byzantine sources but not shared by the earlier biographies, that he was younger than Pindar is therefore unfounded, as is the entry in Eusebios' *Chronicle* for 431 BCE that B. 'became known' in that year, which may be based on confusion with a flute-player of that name (cf. Fatouros 1961: 147–9). B.'s latest securely dated victory ode (6) was composed for a boy's victory at the 82nd Olympic Games (452 BCE). Nothing is known of the poet's life after this date, which makes it seem likely that he died not much later.

When B. was born, his uncle, Simonides, already enjoyed a high reputation as a poet of dithyrambs and other choral songs as well as of epigrams. Peisistratos' son, Hipparchos, who ruled Athens between 527 and 514, invited Simonides to his court, as did Hieron of Syracuse half a century later. Simonides was also on friendly terms with aristocratic families in Thessaly. It is quite likely that B. benefitted from his uncle's many connections in his career, which seems to have taken off soon after 500 BCE with commissions from Athens for the great Delian festival (ode 17) and from Macedonia of a song for the young prince Alexandros, to be sung at a *symposion* (fr. 20B). In the 480s he competed with Pindar for commissions from the leading families of Aigina, and in 476 he celebrated Hieron's first success at the Olympic Games (ode 5), again in competition with Pindar, who composed his first *Olympian* for the same victory. In 470, when Hieron's chariot won the race at the Pythian Games in Delphi, B. sent a short victory ode (4), while Pindar composed his elaborate first *Pythian* for Hieron's victory celebration at Syracuse. B.'s most prestigious commission was the victory ode (3) for Hieron's success in the chariot race at Olympia in 468. B. also composed victory odes for athletes from Keos (1, 2, 6, 7, and 8), Phleious (9), Athens (10), Metapontion in Southern Italy (11), Aigina

(12 and 13), and Thessaly (14), as well as an ode (14B) celebrating not a victorious athlete but a magistrate's election to office, possibly as hipparch, at Larisa in Thessaly; this ode may well have concluded the book of B.'s victory odes.¹⁵ As Pindar's poems were assembled and arranged in 17 books by Aristophanes of Byzantium (see p. 27 below), he may well have done the same for B.

Of the poems collected in the book of dithyrambs, odes 17, 18, and 19 were doubtless composed for Athens, probably also 15 and just possibly 16, while 20 was almost certainly performed at Sparta. B. also wrote hymns (frs. 1–3), paeans (one of which, frs. 4 + 22, contains a wonderful eulogy of peace), procession songs (frs. 11–13), maiden songs, dancing songs (*hyporchemata*, frs. 14–16), songs about love (*erotika*, frs. 17–19), and songs of praise or reproach for living persons (*enkomia*?, frs. 20–20F).

The only other event in the poet's life for which there is evidence outside his poems can be gleaned from a remark in Plutarch's *On exile* (14, 605C), who claims that the 'ancients' (παλαιοί) often created their best and most famous works while they were in exile, quoting, among others, B. who spent some time in exile in the Peloponnese. This seems credible in view of the fact that Pindar composed a paean for the Keans at the time when he was also writing his *Isthmian* 1. The Keans would presumably have commissioned the paean from B., had he been available: so he may have been in exile then. When this was is not known, because the date of Pindar's *I.* 1 and *Paean* 4 cannot be established.

4. LANGUAGE AND PROSODY

(a) *Language*

Greek choral songs must have been sung in many cities and islands for many centuries before Homer (eighth century BCE), and long before they were first recorded in writing and transmitted under poets' names. The first Greek poets known to have composed choral songs of which fragments

¹⁵ Similarly, the book of Pindar's *Nemeans*, which was the last book of his victory odes in the Alexandrian edition, also has at the end three odes that have nothing to do with the *Nemeia*, the last one (*N.* 11) being an ode honouring a civic official (*prytanis*) upon taking office. The last three odes were appended to the last book of *epinikia* apparently because there was no other book into which they would have fitted better.

have survived are Eumelos of Corinth (later eighth century)¹⁶ and Alkman of Sparta (c. 650–600). The dialect spoken in Corinth and Sparta was Doric, and as a result of their poetry being fixed in writing, Doric became the predominant dialect of all subsequent choral lyric song, whatever the poet's origin.

The language of B., like that of Simonides, is an artificial 'literary' Doric with many words, forms and formulas borrowed from epic, including some Aeolic forms. The following epic forms are found in B.: the genitive singular ending in *-οιο* (ἀπλάτοιο 5.62, διωξίπποιο 11.75, δυστάνοιο 11.102), uncontracted forms (Ἰαόνων 17.3, ἀμφακῆα fr. 4.72, δυσμενέων 5.133), the omission of augment in past tenses (σάμαινεν 15.38, θίγεν 17.12, ἴδεν 17.16, etc.), the 3rd person singular subjunctive in *-ησι* (λάχῃσι 19.3, θάλλῃσι fr. 20B.7), the Aeolic infinitive endings in *-μεν* (ἴμεν 19.12, ἔμμεν 5.144) and *-μεναι* (ἔμμεναι 18.14) and the dative plural endings in *-σσι* (ποσσί(ν) 5.183, πόδεσσι 6.2). B.'s language is very similar to Pindar's, except that forms of Ionic, B.'s native dialect, are occasionally found in the text where one would expect their Doric equivalents, and frs. 19 and 20A are almost entirely in Ionic.

The Doric colouring is due mainly to the long *alpha* in place of the Ionic *ēta*, even though *α* is not consistently preserved in the papyri. For example, the scribes always write *-ζη*, not *-ζᾱ*: πολύζηλος, πολυζήλωτος, ἐπίζηλος (but ζαλωτός in Pindar, *O.* 7.6: papyri and later manuscripts of Pindar do not share this tendency to substitute *η* for *α*), Τροιζηνία B. 17.58; they often write *η* instead of *ᾱ* where an *ᾱ* follows (φήμα, but φαμί; κυβερνήτας, but κυβέρνασεν; ἄδμήτᾱ 5.167, but ἄδμᾱτοι 11.84), but regularly have Ἀθάνα, Ἀθᾱναι, Ἀθαναίων, προφάτας, ὀλάταν, αἰχματάν, σελάνα. In some cases one might wonder whether an 'Ionic' *η* in a papyrus is due to the scribe's carelessness and should be changed to *ᾱ*: so in 5.187 αληθείας, also perhaps in 11.45 παράπληγι (read *-πληγι?*), where Blass preferred παραπλᾱγι (cf. πλᾱξεν, πλᾱξίππος). It is possible that B. himself was not consistent in his spelling: cf. ἐπισκήπτων 5.42, but σκάπτρον 3.70; ἡλύκταζον 11.93, but ἄγον 15.37; ληισταί 18.8, but λαΐδος 16.17; παϊήων 16.8 (so also in Simonides and Pindar), but παιάνιξαν 17.129; παρηΐδων

¹⁶ Pausanias (4.4.1) says that Eumelos composed a procession song (*prosodion*) for the Messenians, for performance at the Apollonia on Delos, from which he quotes two lines (*PMG* 696), and that this was the only work correctly ascribed to Eumelos. Other works sometimes ascribed to him appear to belong to a much later period, cf. West 2002: 109–133.

17.13 (but cf. χαλκοπάραιος Pind. *P.* 1.44 and *N.* 7.71). Original η appears in ἦβα, στῆθος, μῆλος ‘sheep’, and εἰρήνα.

The Doric infinitive ending in -εν, instead of the more frequent ending in -ειν, appears where the metre requires a short syllable, i.e. before vowel (ἐρύκεν 17.41; ἴσχευ 17.88, where the papyrus has ἴσχειν; φυλάσσειν 19.25), but also before consonant (θύεν 16.18 and probably φάμ]εν 3.65). Other verb endings show similar inconsistencies: Doric -οντι (for -ουσιν) appears after σ or ξ: πτάσσοντι 5.32.

In compound verbs, *apokopé* of ἀνά, κατά, παρά, common in Homer and a regular feature of all Doric and Aeolic dialects, appears in ἀμπαύσας 5.7, ἄμπαυσεν fr. 20D.11, ἀντείνων 11.100, ἀγκομίσσαι 3.89, ἀμειγνυμένα fr. 20B.9, κάππανε fr. 20B.2, also in compound adjectives (πάρφρονος 11.103).

Other Doric features are the articles τοί (5.149, fr. 4.22) and ταί (11.43) for οἱ and αἱ, used as demonstrative; the genitive singular masc. in -ᾱ (Ἀῖδᾱ 5.61), the genitive plural fem. in -ᾶν (τᾶν ἱερᾶν Ἄθανᾶν 18.1), the future and aorist forms in -ξ- of verbs in -ζειν: εὐκλείξας 6.16; δοίαξε 11.87; παιάνιξαν 17.129, but after -κ- B. prefers -σσ- to -ξ-: ἀγκομίσσαι 3.89.

The Doric accusative of the pronoun νιν (Ionic μιν) is regularly used by B., mostly for the singular (= αὐτόν or αὐτήν), rarely for the plural (= αὐτούς).

Aeolic forms, apart from those familiar from Homer and other epic poetry, are rare: Μοῖσα 5.4, λαχοῖσαν 19.13, ἔλλαθι 11.8 (on epic ἔμμεν and ἔμμεναι see above).

(b) Prosody

In Greek, syllables with long vowels and double vowels (diphthongs) are long, those with short vowels are short. Vowels are either naturally long, such as η, ω and sometimes α, ι, υ, or short, such as ε, ο, and sometimes α, ι, υ. However, short vowels followed by two or more consonants are long, except that before certain combinations of *muta cum liquida*, i.e. plosive (π, τ, κ, β, δ, γ, φ, θ, χ) and liquid or nasal (λ, ρ; μ, ν), they *may* be treated as short. Vowels followed by ‘mute and liquid’ (plosive + liquid consonant, e.g. δρ, γλ, κμ) are measured long in three out of four cases; where they count as short, the following plosive + liquid consonants, marked by a loop (◌), are either (a) at the beginning of the next word (or at the beginning of the second element of a compound: λεπτόπρυμνον 17.119, ἀγλαόθρονοι 17.125, or after augment: ἐ◌λαγεν 17.127, or reduplication: πεπρωμένην

17.26), or (b) in personal names (e.g. Ἰφικλῶν 5.128); there are (c) a few other cases, mostly with plosive + ρ (ὕχρῳσι 17.108, πατρί fr. 20A.6, etc.), also ἄφνεοῦ 17.34.

At the beginning of a word, ρ and σ can, if required by the metre, be treated as double consonants: ἐπὶ (ρ)ῥοδόεντι 16.34, ἀπὸ (ρ)ῥίζας fr. 4.54 (also in ἀ(ρ)ραρχῶν fr. 4.70), δόρυ· (σ)όσει (i.e. σφόει) 17.90. Likewise, final ν can count as a double consonant: δόμον(ν)· ἔμολεν 17.100, ἀπώσάμενον(ν), εἴ τις 5.189, πόλιν(ν) Ἀχαιοῖς 11.114, also in συν(ν)εχέως 5.113.¹⁷

Combinations of vowels which do not normally form a diphthong but remain separate are marked by *diaresis* (ἔϋκτιμέναν 15.10); when they are contracted into one syllable, this is marked by a loop (ἡϊθῶν 17.43 and 93, χέον 17.96)

Long vowels and diphthongs at word-ends are usually shortened before another vowel ('correction'), most often καί and -ταί, but also other endings: ἄλσος τέ τῷ ἱμερόεν 11.118, παρθένῳ Ἀθάναι 16.21, ἐπιδέγμεναι ἀνάγκαν 17.96, τὸν ποτέ οἱ ἐν γάμῳ 17.115. Correction within a word occurs where a short syllable is required by the metre: Μίνῳ 17.68, Ἀθανάδιον 17.92, παϊάνιξαν 17.129. Conversely, Doric forms with short first syllable are sometimes replaced by epic forms with long first syllable for metrical convenience ('epic lengthening'): κόρα/κούρα, μόνος/μοῦνος, νόσος/νοῦσος, ξένος/ξείνος, but the regular ῡ in χρῦσο- is shortened in 16.2 (χρῦσέαν).

As in Homer, hiatus (the 'gap' between vowels at word-juncture, where the first vowel or diphthong is neither elided nor 'corrected') is obviated by 'invisible' digamma in words which originally began with this consonant (*F* = v, as in οἶνος ~ *vinum*). Although this letter, used in Doric but unknown to the Ionic of B.'s time, was certainly not pronounced or written by him, its presence is assumed where it serves to avoid hiatus: (*F*)ιοστέφανον 3.2 (but without *F* in 5.3, and in ἰόπλοκοι 17.37); (*F*)οπί 17.129; εὔ (*F*)έρδων 5.36 (but without *F* in 18.43), cf. εὔ (*F*)έρξαντα *Il.* 5.650. Assumed *F* avoids contraction of vowels within a word: μεγιστο(*F*)άνασσα 19.21. A *wrong* digamma is assumed in εἶλετο ἰόν 5.75: B. was unaware that only (*F*)ῖον 'violet' and (*F*)ῖός 'poison' begin with *F*, not ἰός 'arrow'. Hiatus is sometimes admitted before names: Ἰέρων 3.64 and 92, Ἐβρωί 16.5, as in Pindar, *I.* 1.16 ἦ ἰολαίοι(ο).

¹⁷ The lengthening of the final ε in 3.64 ὦ μεγαίνητε Ἰέρων is very strange, although there are parallels in Homer (χρυσέῳ ἐν δέπῳ ὄφρα *Il.* 24.285).

5. METRE

The metrical structure of B.'s odes is either triadic or monostrophic. A triad consists of strophe, antistrophe, and epode; of these, the first two are metrically identical, while the epode has a different pattern, though usually in a related metre. Odes 16 and 19 consist of only one triad, longer odes are in two or more triads. Monostrophic odes, such as the victory odes 4 and 6, the dithyramb 18, and the *enkomia* frs. 20A–D, repeat the metrical pattern of a strophe twice or several times. As we do not have the poet's autograph, we can not know how he arranged his text on a papyrus roll; the earliest texts of Greek lyric poetry that have survived on papyrus, written in the later fourth and early third century BCE, are set out as prose in long lines, not divided into strophes or verses. The division into triads or strophes, and their subdivision into short verses, was made by the Alexandrian scholar Aristophanes of Byzantium in the second half of the third century BCE.¹⁸ The most important criteria for the division of the text into strophes, and of these into shorter units, were probably his observation of (1) the recurrence ('responson') of identical patterns of sequences of short and long syllables at regular intervals, and (2) of 'pauses' between identical patterns; 'pauses' are indicated (a) by hiatus, (b) by a short syllable in the position of a long one (*brevis in longo*), i.e. where the corresponding identical sequences have a long syllable and where after a short syllable a pause is needed to fill the time of a long one. Pauses often coincide with the end of a sentence or phrase, which the editors usually indicate by punctuation. Within a strophe or epode, the metrical sequences between pauses are called 'periods'. As these are often quite long, Aristophanes divided them into shorter units (*cola*, κῶλα), guided by word-ends recurring regularly in the same place within a 'period'. This seems to be the rationale behind the 'colometry', i.e. the division into short verses, or 'cola', in the ancient manuscript tradition as represented by the papyri.

This division into 'periods' and 'cola' is clearly not arbitrary, as identical or closely related patterns, such as the 'hemiepes' ('half-hexameter', — — — — —) or the 'glyconic' (— — — — —) tend to recur in different contexts and combinations. The frequent coincidence of regular word-end or sentence-end with the end of a 'colon' or 'period' suggests that the poets themselves arranged the words in accordance with these metrical units. The metres of B.'s odes, like Pindar's, fall into one of two groups, dactyloepitrite or ionic-aeolic.

¹⁸ See Irigoin, *Histoire du texte de Pindare* 45–8.

(a) *Dactyloepitrite*

B.'s longer victory odes, such as 5 and 11, as well as the dithyrambs 15, 19, and 20, and the paean fr. 4 are composed in dactyloepitrites, as are the praise poems (*enkomia*) frs. 20B, 20C and 20D.

Dactyloepitrite¹⁹ metre combines dactylic cola, chiefly the 'hemiepes' (— ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ —), with iambic (≡ ∪ ∪ —) or trochaic (— ∪ — ≡) cola. Maas, *Metre* §55, introduced the following symbols to analyse them:

— ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ —	<i>D</i>	— ∪ —	<i>e</i>
— ∪ ∪ —	<i>d'</i>	— ∪ — ≡ ∪ ∪ —	<i>E</i>
∪ ∪ —	<i>d''</i>		

Maas stated that these cola are often preceded, followed or 'linked' by one *anceps* (a syllable that can be either long or short, marked ≡) which is usually long. Most of B.'s poems in dactyloepitrites can indeed be analysed in Maas's terms, but one needs to remember that the 'link-syllable', or *anceps interpositum*, was not part of the original concept of this metre, which seems to have evolved out of a free combination of the *hemiepes* (— ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — or *D*) with trochaic or iambic elements (— ∪ — ≡, ≡ ∪ ∪ —, or — ∪ — ≡ ∪ ∪ —): 'Greek poets compose with cola and need no mortar to join them' (West, *Metre* 70).

The fact that poems of praise, such as *enkomia* and victory odes, are often composed in dactyloepitrites is not surprising, given that this metre developed out of the *encomiologicum* (ἐγκωμιολογικόν: — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ —, or *D* ∪ *e*—), which was used already by Alkaios 383 and Anakreon *PMG* 393, both quoted in Hephaistion's *Encheiridion* (handbook on metre) 15.10: as the term indicates, this verse was employed primarily in poems of praise. Simonides, too, used it in the famous opening line of his victory ode for Anaxilas of Rhegion: Χαίρετ' ἀελλοπόδων θύγατρεις ἵππων ('Hail, daughters of storm-swift mares', i.e. mules, *PMG* 515).²⁰

The metres of the dithyrambs 19 and 20 are essentially dactyloepitrites with certain innovative elements. The metre of B.19 differs from conventional dactyloepitrites, e.g. those of B.15, in that (a) the 'link-syllable' is

¹⁹ The term, coined by R. Westphal in 1854, assumes the long to be equal in length to two short, so that an ἐπίτριτος ποῦς (— ∪ ∪ — or — ∪ ∪ —) represents a proportion of 3/4 or 4/3; cf. West, *Metre* 70.

²⁰ Aristotle, *Rhet.* 1405b23 reports that Simonides initially refused to compose a victory ode for mules, but when the victor, Anaxilas the tyrant of Rhegion, offered him a more substantial fee he did, though without referring to them as 'mules'.

always short, (b) a trochaic/iambic colon ($- \sim - \sim -$) appears that can be interpreted as a variant of the *E* (or *e-e*) colon without its last short syllable, and (c) the *D* colon appears several times without its first short syllable ($- \sim - \sim -$), which makes it look similar to glyconics, giving it an ‘aeolic’ appearance (on ‘aeolic’ metres see below). B.20 seems to have a strophe of eight verses, each beginning with a *D* colon preceded by one syllable, except that the *D* colon of the 8th verse appears in a shortened form ($- \sim - \sim -$, i.e. replacing the second double-short by a single short), which seems to slow the rhythm down, giving it the character of a *clausula* (see 19.7–8n.).

(b) *Iambic-aeolic*

Iambic and aeolic metres are found in dithyrambs 17 and 18, in the *prosodion* (procession song) fr. 11 + 12, the *enkomion* fr. 20A, and in the victory odes 3, 4 (combined with dactyls), and 6; of these, ode 3 is unique in B. in that the strophe/antistrophe is aeolic while the epode is in dactyloepitrites.²¹ Dithyramb 16 combines iambic and aeolic cola with dactyls.

Iambic metres are: the iambic ($\sim - \sim -$) and trochaic ($- \sim - \sim$) metron, the cretic ($- \sim -$), the paeon (\equiv cretic with resolution: $\sim \sim \sim -$ or $- \sim \sim \sim$), the baccheus ($\sim - -$), the ‘lekythion’ ($- \sim \sim \sim \sim -$), and the ionic dimeter ($\sim \sim - - \sim \sim -$), also with ‘anacalasis’ (i.e. long and short syllables reversed: $\sim \sim \sim \sim - \sim -$, noted *anacal*) or ‘catalexis’ (i.e. shortened: $\sim \sim - \sim \sim \sim -$); all three of these occur in B. fr. 20A.1–3.

The principal forms of aeolic cola²² are the ‘glyconic’ and its variations:

$\sim \sim - \sim \sim \sim -$	glyconic,	<i>gl</i>
$\sim - \sim \sim \sim -$	telesilleion,	$\wedge gl$ (shortened <i>gl</i>)
$\sim \sim - \sim \sim -$	pherecratean,	<i>pher</i>
$\sim - \sim \sim -$	reizianum,	$\wedge pher$ (shortened <i>pher</i>)
$\sim \sim - \sim \sim \sim -$	hipponactean,	<i>hipp</i>
$\sim - \sim \sim \sim \sim -$	hagesichorean, ²³	$\wedge hipp$ (shortened <i>hipp</i>)

The aeolic cola can be expanded from within; dactylic or choriambic expansion means that the internal sequence $- \sim \sim$ or $- \sim \sim -$ is repeated,

²¹ A similar mixture of different metrical genres occurs in Pindar’s *O.* 13.

²² They are called ‘aeolic’ because they first occur in the poems of Sappho and Alkaios, written in the aeolic dialect.

²³ Term coined by West, *Metre* 30 n.3, after Alkman 1.57 Ἀγῆσιχόρα μὲν αὔτα.

as e.g. in B.3, strophe 2: $\approx - \sim \sim \sim \sim \sim - -$ is a 'hagesichorean' (= shortened 'hipponactean') with dactylic expansion (\wedge *hipp*^d).

A closely related metre is the choriambic dimeter, which consists of a flexible 'base' of four *ancipitia* (syllables which can be either long or short) followed by a choriamb ($\approx \approx \approx \approx \sim \sim -$); B. even splits or 'resolves' one long into two shorts (4.9~19 $\sim \sim \sim - \sim \sim \sim -$).

Dithyramb 17 is composed in an unprecedented metrical form which has been interpreted in different ways and with divergent results. It may therefore be useful to analyse its metrical structure in some detail in an attempt to identify its underlying principle. This ode tells the story of Theseus's voyage to Crete, and it is probably significant that the metre is predominantly 'Cretan', consisting mainly of cretics and paeons, often combined with seemingly iambic or trochaic cola. Observation of regular word-ends shows that B. experiments with cretics, rather as Pindar does with dactyloepitrites: by expanding the cretic by $\sim -$, he creates a new colon ($- \sim \sim \sim -$) between cretic ($- \sim -$) and 'lekythion' ($- \sim \sim \sim \sim -$). This 'long cretic' ($- \sim \sim \sim -$, or $\approx \sim \sim -$, or $- \sim \sim \sim \approx$) appears again and again in the strophe/antistrophe: twice in verse 1, then again in 2, 3, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20 and 23, and in the epode: 2, 3, 9, 15 and 18, combined with straight or 'resolved' cretics (= paeons) and 'linked', preceded, or followed by 'link-syllables', as in the dactyloepitrites discussed above. This 'link-syllable' tends to be short, apart from the beginning or end of a period; at period-start it can also be double-short (strophe: 8, 12, 18, 20). Likewise, paeons at the beginning of a period appear as $\approx \sim \sim -$ (strophe: 1) and $\approx \sim -$ (strophe: 21). Given the predominance of cretics in this 'Cretan' ode, it seems more logical to interpret the lines seemingly beginning with iambs (strophe: 2, 5, 7, 8, 14, 18, 20, 22; epode: 1, 2, 5, 8, 12, 13, 17, 20) as cretics with preceding syllable rather than iambs, and the apparent 'lekythion' (strophe: 9, epode: 10, 14) should be seen as *cr*~*cr*, not as *cr ia*. There is just one passage, from verse 9 to 11 of the strophe, where the cretics appear briefly to change into 'dactyls', but these, too, can be understood as a variation of the 'lekythion': 9 $- \sim \sim \sim \sim -$, \rightarrow 10 $- \sim \sim \sim \sim -$, \rightarrow 11 $- \sim \sim \sim \sim -$.

However, the labels we give to individual verses or cola are relatively unimportant; what matters much more is to understand what metrical units the poet employed to structure his strophes and epodes, and how he then developed these units into new rhythmical forms through the constant use of variation.

6. STYLE

Whether there was a style of choral lyric poetry in the same sense as there is a style of epic or of tragic poetry, and whether all choral lyric poetry had certain characteristic features in common, is still an open question. It is true that the discoveries of papyrus texts of Alkman, Ibykos and in particular Stesichoros have significantly enlarged our knowledge of early choral lyric poetry in the seventh and sixth centuries BCE. And yet, there are still so many gaps, and the discrepancy between what little we can know and what has been lost is still so great, especially as far as Pindar's and B.'s immediate predecessor, Simonides, is concerned, that it is hardly possible to describe the style of the genre as a whole. It is therefore often difficult to decide whether a particular stylistic feature observed in B.'s or Pindar's poetry was shared by their predecessors and can be regarded as traditional, or whether it is an innovation peculiar to either or both of them. Moreover, even though B. and Pindar were contemporaries, they are so different from one another in terms of their manner of narrative and structure that comparisons from a stylistic perspective of their poems, even in the same category such as victory odes, tend to reveal differences rather than features common to both.

Despite the limitations of our knowledge of the earlier stages of the genre, there can be no doubt that the poetry of B. and Pindar represents the maturest and most sophisticated form of Greek choral lyric. Both poets witnessed a period of momentous political and social upheaval, which also saw the emergence in Athens of another great and powerful poetic genre, Attic drama. As tragedy gradually replaced the dithyramb as the leading genre of poetry, it inherited in its choral songs the dialect ('literary Doric', see above, p. 11), the metres (and so, presumably, the music), and the poetic language of choral lyric with its imagery, its metaphors and its manifold rhetorical devices. In turn, tragedy has left its mark on some of B.'s dithyrambs. The way in which the myth of Deianeira is presented in ode 16 is so elliptical that the audience can hardly have followed it without knowledge of Sophocles' *Women of Trachis*, with which it shares a sense of foreboding, of impending disaster, and the tragic twist of the heroine's fate. The situation assumed in 18 recalls the opening scenes of Aeschylus' *Persians* and *Suppliants* and that of Sophocles' *King Oedipus*.

The stylistic peculiarity of choral lyric poetry can be understood as a result of its reaction to and emancipation from epic poetry. Although

B. marks the end of a long process of evolution, the influence of epic is still conspicuous in his style. He uses and combines Homeric words, word-groups, and formulas, and varies them freely. A substantial part of his vocabulary is derived from Homer, either unchanged or with slight modifications. Where he coins new words, most of them are either variants of Homeric words, or compounds. About 230 words are found uniquely or for the first time in B., of which by far the largest number are compound adjectives; only 14 are nouns, another 14 are verbs, and one an adverb; six of the verbs, and the adverb (εἰσάνταν 5.110, cf. epic εἰσάντα), are just slight variations of Homeric forms. Likewise, many of his compound adjectives are modifications of Homeric compounds in that they combine one element taken from the Homeric model with another that is a variation of the Homeric one, as in πολύκριθος 11.70 ~ πολυλήϊος *Il.* 5.613, or γλυκύδωρος 11.1 ~ ἡπιόδωρος *Il.* 6.251.

While variation of Homeric compounds is a feature which B. shares with Pindar and most of the earlier choral lyric poets, one characteristic of B.'s personal style seems to be his preference for graphically descriptive compounds, many of which refer to colour: ἰοβλέφαροι Χάριτες 19.5, καλυκῶπις Μάρπησσα fr. 20A.17, Προίτου κυανοπλόκαμοι θύγατρες 11.83, μελαμφαρῆς σκότος 3.13, πορφυρόζωνος θεά (Hera) 11.49, πυριθέιρα ἀστραπά 17.56, πυρσόχαιτον κάρα 18.51, βοῦς φοινικόνωτοι 5.102, χρυσόπαχυσ Ἄως 5.40, also other visual aspects: εὐδαίδαλος ναῦς 17.88, εὐρυνεφές Κήναιον 16.17, δολιχαύχην κύκνος 16.6. Others emphasize sound: βαρυαχῆς ταῦρος 16.18, βαρύβρομον πέλαγος 17.77, λιγυκλαγγῆς νευρά 5.73; or power: εὐρύαναξ Ζεὺς 5.19, πῶλος ἀελλοδρόμας 5.39, ἔρειπιτύλας (Herakles) 5.56, θελξιεπῆς γᾶρυς 15.48, θελξιμβροτος Κύπρις 5.175, θρασύχειρ Εὐεανός fr. 20A.16, ἡμεράμπυξ θεά 17.9; or location and/or extent: ἀμφικύμων ἄκτά 16.16, δελφίνες ἄλιναιέται 17.97, δεξίστρατος ἀγορά 15.43, εὐρυδίνας Ἀλφεός 3.6 and 5.38. Several unique compounds refer to feelings: θυμάρμενον τέρας 17.71, τλαπενθῆς Νιόβα fr. 20D.4; or to mental attitudes: μενέκτυπος (Theseus) 17.1, ἀδεισιβόας 5.155 and 11.61, ἀναιδομάχας 5.105, ἀταρβομάχας 16.28, φρενοάρας 17.118.

The function of epithets is not merely decorative. B. often employs them, as the above selection illustrates, in order to evoke in the audience's imagination certain aspects or qualities of key figures in his narrative.²⁴ That explains the frequency of colour epithets and compounds, such as

²⁴ On B.'s use of epithets, see Segal 1976: 99–130.

those beginning with ξανθο-, κυανο-, πορφυρο-, φοινικο-, χαλκ- and χρυσ-, and such boldly evocative phrases as πρόπεμπ' ἄπ' οὐρανοῦ θοᾶν πυρίεθειραν ἄστραπᾶν (17.55–6). Moreover, B. selects his epithets carefully in order to accentuate contrasts, as he does in 3.31–2 where the 'brazen-walled courtyard' of Kroisos' palace (χαλκοτειχέος αὐλᾶς), an image of safety and strong protection, faces the pyre on which the hapless king is to be burnt alive, and again some lines below (3.44–5) where Kroisos himself describes how the 'gold-eddyng' (χρυσοδίνας) Paktolos is reddened with blood as the women are led from their 'well-built halls' (ἐξ ἐϋκτίτων μεγάρων) – all his gold could not prevent disaster. Strong contrasts dominate also the end of the Deianeira dithyramb (16.23–35): Fate has 'woven' a 'plan that is to cause her many tears' (πολύδακρυν μῆτιν), 'shrewd' (ἐπίφρονα) though it seemed to her, when she received the 'painful' (ταλαπενθήα) message that Herakles, the 'fearless fighter' (ἄταρβομάχας), was sending 'white-armed' (λευκώλενον, see 16.27–8n.) Iole to his 'rich home' (λιπαρὸν ποτὶ δόμον). The chorus's immediate reaction (ἄ δύσμορος, ἄ τάλαινα etc.) hints at the impending doom for both Iole and the 'home', and reveals its cause in powerful and dark terms: φθόνος εὐρυβίας and δνόφειον κάλυμμα of things to come.

Contrasts are also emphasized by epithets in 5.151–8, where the 'fearless fighter' (ἄδαισιβόας) Herakles weeps compassionate tears for the 'grief-stricken' (ταλαπενθής) Meleagros, who had to leave his 'sweet life' and 'splendid youth' behind; similarly in 17.12–18, where Eriboia's 'white cheeks' suggest vulnerable female beauty, protected by 'bronze-clad' (χαλκοθώραξ) Theseus in his 'black' rage, and in 19.17–18, where 'wide-powered' Zeus causes Io, turned into a 'golden heifer', to flee from Argos, the 'rose-fingered maiden', whose tender fingers have just turned into hard hooves: the epithets underline the cruel irony of her fate. Niobe's fate, however, provokes Zeus' compassion, fr. 20D.4–11. The common denominator of nearly all these contrasts in B. is their emotional appeal. In this respect, the way in which B. evokes compassion in his presentation of Kroisos, Meleagros, Deianeira and Io comes close to the spirit of Attic tragedy.

The appeal to strong emotions, particularly pity, is created even more effectively by constant reference to the protagonists' feelings, which appear as the driving force behind their actions. The narrative of ode 17 is a good example: Aphrodite's gifts 'stirred' (κνίζεν, 8) Minos' heart, Theseus feels 'wild pain' (σχέτλιον ἄλγος, 19), the crew are amazed at his boldness (48–50), which angers Minos (50), yet he is baffled by his courage (86), the young

Athenians tremble with fear and weep (92–6), the tears from their ‘tender eyes’ contrast vividly with their ‘new-found joy’ (126) when they rejoice at the sight of their saviour; even Theseus feels frightened by the sight of the Nereids (102); when he unexpectedly emerges from the sea, what will Minos feel (120–1)?

A scene full of heroic pathos and high emotion is that of Kroisos on the pyre (3.29–52): Kroisos himself has the pyre heaped up, which he mounts with his wife and the daughters who ‘wail inconsolably’; when it is lit, they scream and cling to their mother (see 3.49–51n.): against their uncontrolled despair, Kroisos’ heroic resolve to die rather than to experience slavery, and his highly emotional speech (3.37–47), which culminates in the paradox ‘to die is sweetest’ (θανεῖν γλυκίστον) is all the more impressive. Like Kroisos, Proitos, too, feels driven to suicide by despair (11.85–8); for him, it is the sight of his ‘dark-tressed virgin daughters’ fleeing from their home in their mad frenzy.

In addition to the element of pathos, B.’s narrative can create displays of increasing dramatic tension. He tends to begin the narration in the middle of a myth, at a point from where its progression to the dramatic climax can already be anticipated. This technique can also be seen in ode 17: Minos’ harassment of Eriboia prompts Theseus’ sharp reaction, their confrontation leads to Theseus’ leap into the sea (a first climax) and to his surprising reappearance, the main climax. Likewise, the trumpet-call at the beginning of 18 immediately creates a dramatic situation: the news of the amazing deeds of an unknown young hero keeps king and people in suspense and in contrasting moods and expectations (see 18.6on.) as the hero is approaching Athens; the dramatic climax is not, as one might have expected, the revelation of his identity – that would have been an anticlimax, as the audience can infer from the second strophe that he is Theseus, the king’s son – but the king’s last announcement (18.57–60) that he, ‘with war and bronze-clanging battle’ on his mind, is heading for ‘splendour-loving Athens’. In ode 15, the narrative begins with the encounter between Theano and the Achaean delegates and culminates in Menelaos’ warning that *hybris* destroyed even the Giants – an abrupt ending, which has puzzled critics who did not understand that B., instead of telling the whole story as an epic poet might have done, just wants to exploit its dramatic potential up to the point from where the outcome can be foreseen. In the narrative sections of victory odes the same technique can be seen, as they tend to begin with an exciting event: in 3, it is the sack of Sardis by

the Persians, in 5 Herakles' descent into Hades, in 11 the flight of Proitos' deranged daughters. However, the 'elliptical' storytelling which gives just an outline of a section of the myth, focussing on its significant elements, and leaves the audience to fill in the rest, appears to be more typical of the dithyrambs.

Another peculiarity of B.'s style, and one which he does not share with Pindar, is his choice of literary 'models', which he follows sometimes so closely that his reworking almost amounts to a quotation. In some cases we are lucky enough to have both the 'model' and B.'s version of it, so that we can compare the two, such as the story of Meleagros in ode 5. In the fifth century, every educated Greek will have known the story of the Kalydonian boar hunt from the *Iliad* (9.529–99); someone like Hieron, the ruler of Syracuse and a patron of poetry and art (see 3.85n. and 5.3–6n.), will have appreciated B.'s sophisticated adaptation of Homer's account, his elaboration of dramatic highlights, its emphasis on pathos, and possibly also the balance and symmetry of its careful formal structure (see below). In the same ode, not only the Meleagros story but three other passages can be recognized, and were probably meant to be recognized, as adaptations of well-known literary models: (1) The eagle simile (5.16–30) appears to have been inspired by a passage in the homeric *Hymn to Demeter* (*h.Dem.* 375–83), which must have been particularly well known in Sicily; (2) the comparison of human life to autumn leaves (5.65–7) 'quotes' a very famous passage in *Iliad* 6.146–9, and the melancholy statement 'for humans it is best not to be born' (5.160) is also found among the epigrams ascribed to Theognis (425–8) but may have been considerably older. At the end of the same ode (5.191–4), another 'quotation' is explicitly attributed to Hesiod (but is not found in Hesiod's extant works). In 3.78–82, B. quotes a saying allegedly given to Admetos, the mythical ruler of Pherai in Thessaly, which is also known from the Sicilian poet Epicharmos, a contemporary of B. who lived in Syracuse under Hieron (478–467 BCE). Other intertextual references may remain undetected because the passages on which they are modelled are lost to us. The ones mentioned above are all adaptations or even quotations of well-known passages or statements, aimed at an audience who would recognize them as such and appreciate the poet's art of variation.

Formal structure is another interesting aspect of B.'s style. From this point of view, the dithyrambs are less complex than the victory odes, because they are essentially narrative accounts, often allusive and elliptical, of myths, or rather selected sections of myths. B., like Homer, makes

ample use of direct speech and dialogue in both dithyrambs and the longer victory odes, but while the epic poet tends to tell a story from beginning to end at a leisurely pace, B. selects that part which offers the greatest potential for dramatization (see above), where he then focuses on key elements which will produce the strongest emotional appeal. Essentially, however, his dithyrambs are straightforward, linear narratives. Of the dithyrambs, 15, 16 and 19 have a proem, while 17 and 18 plunge straight into the story (the fragmentary 20 may have resembled 16 in that it begins with a reference to a different song, see 20.2–3n.). Only 17 (which appears to be a paean rather than a dithyramb, see p. 173) has a conclusion which refers to the performance and the performing chorus. The proem of 19 is unique in that it is presented as an invitation by the chorus to the poet (see 19.11n.) to ‘weave something new’, namely the story of Io and her descendants to the birth of Dionysos. It has an interesting symmetrical structure in two halves. The first half (to ὕμνοισιν, 8) is a general statement: a gifted poet knows countless ‘paths’ of songs, if the Muses inspire him and the Graces bestow respectability on his songs; the second half, an address to the poet (8–14), takes this up (with *asyndeton*: see 19.8n.) and specifies what the poet’s ‘purposeful planning’ (μέριμνα: see 19.11n.) is to focus on. The two halves are linked by the pun on the popular ‘etymology’ which derived ὕμνος from ὑφαίνειν, and by the correspondences of Μουσᾶν (4) with Καλλιόπας (13), and the recurrence of the ideas of ‘obtaining gifts’ (λάχῃσι δῶρα 3/4, and λαχοῖσαν . . . γέρας 13/14) and of the song as ‘path’ (μυρία κέλευθος 1 and φερτάταν ἵμεν δδόν 12/13). The main part of the ode (15–51) is rapid and selective narrative, slowed down only by speculation on who might have caused the death of the giant, Argos (see 19.29–36n.), and gathering pace again in the last section.

The narrative sections of dithyrambs 16, 17 and 18 are also linear. In 16 the narrative is in two halves: the first (13–22) describes Herakles’ last triumph, the second (23–35) his destruction. The structure of 17 is straightforward, with its most dramatic moments highlighted by speeches (20–46, 52–66, 74–80) which become progressively shorter as the story approaches its first climax, Theseus’ leap into the sea (94). Ode 15 is, as far as its fragmentary state allows us to guess, structured in three parts, each containing a speech (by Theano, Odysseus, and Menelaos, see introd. to ode 15, pp. 158–9). Ode 18 is unique in having no narrative, as it is entirely a dialogue in two pairs of question-and-answer stanzas, rounded off by the last line (δίζησηθαί δὲ φιλαγλάους Ἀθάνας) echoing the first (Βασιλεῦ τᾶν ἱερᾶν Ἀθανᾶν).

The structure of victory odes is generally, and by their very nature, more complex, given that the poet had to incorporate and combine a number of disparate elements without creating an impression of disjointedness and incoherence. Victory odes are praise songs; they all have to have a 'praise' section mentioning what the herald will have announced after the victory: the victor's name, his father's name, his home town, and the contest. Short odes performed at the site of the festival after the games often contain not much else beyond this basic 'programme', or they may link the victory to previous successes by the victor, his relatives, ancestors, or co-citizens: see, for instance, introd. to ode 6, pp. 129–30 (ode 4 is a special case; for its structure, see p. 102). Most of the longer victory odes, performed at celebrations in the victor's home town after his return from the festival, have as their centre-piece a mythical narrative section, preceded and followed by 'praise' sections which normally relate to each other, as do the proem and conclusion. The interrelation of corresponding parts can be emphasized and made audible by repetitions of key words, names, themes or ideas. In the final section of ode 5, for example, the repetition of the victor's name (197 Ἰέρωνι ~ 16 Ἰέρωνα) and of the reference to poets as servants of the Muses and to their willingness to praise (192–3 πρόπολος Μουσᾶν ~ 13–14 Οὐρανίας θεράπων) will have audibly signalled to the audience that the ode is nearing its conclusion. The overall structure of this ode, like that of odes 3 and 11, is symmetrical in that the central narrative section is framed by praise passages, each followed by general statements or *gnomai*, whose principal function is to link sections of a different nature (e.g., praise and myth, or proem and praise, etc.). Its narrative section (5.56–175) shows a similarly symmetrical structure, analogous to that of the ode itself: the centre-piece is Meleagros' monologue, framed by Herakles' questions, which are in turn framed by Meleagros' address and answer (see introd. to ode 5, pp. 109–10). Ode 11 also illustrates B.'s technique of marking off sections from one another within the ode by repeating key phrases or themes. Its first part, the proem and main praise (1–39), begins and ends with the theme of 'victory' (1 Νίκα γλυκύδωρε ~ 39 νίκαν ἔδωκε); its central part, the mythical narrative (40–112), begins and ends with the key word 'altar' (40–2 τᾶι . . . βωμὸν κατένασσε ~ 110–12 οἱ τέμενος βωμὸν τε τεῦχον), and its concluding part is framed by references to 'Achaean' (113–14 ἀρηϊφίλοις . . . Ἀχαιοῖς ~ 126 ἀλκὰς Ἀχαιῶν). The central part itself, the narrative of the daughters of Proitos, is structured as a multiple 'ring-composition' (see introd. to ode 11, pp. 136–8).

The analysis of the formal structure of B.'s longer odes reveals his endeavour to balance their constituent parts and to weld them into symmetrical structures that create an aesthetically pleasing formal unity, comparable to that of the figures assembled in the pediments of a classical Greek temple, like those of the temple of Zeus at Olympia.

7. ALEXANDRIAN SCHOLARSHIP AND THE FATE OF THE TEXT

During Bacchylides' lifetime, his songs do not seem to have been widely known. The patrons who commissioned odes for victory celebrations, and other songs for convivial entertainment, such as *enkomia* (frs. 20A–D), and the communities for which he had composed cult songs such as dithyrambs and paeans to be performed at religious festivals, must have preserved these songs (at least the texts, if not the music) in private or public archives – otherwise, they would not have survived long enough to be collected and edited by Alexandrian scholars (see below). Some may have circulated among friends in private copies, though this cannot be proved. Unlike some of the songs of Simonides or Pindar, which were known in Athens and sung at parties, parodied by Aristophanes and quoted by Plato, B.'s songs have left no traces in Greek literature of the later fifth and fourth centuries – not even those dithyrambs which had been composed for Athenian festivals. His early dithyramb (or paean) 17, composed for performance at the *Delia*, the festival for Apollo on Delos, appears to have inspired at least one Attic vase painter, Onesimos, who brilliantly captured one of the key scenes of the narrative, the young Theseus' encounter with Amphitrite in her palace at the bottom of the sea (see introd. to ode 17, pp. 174–5), but later vase painters seem to have taken no notice of public performances of his odes.²⁵

It was not before the Hellenistic age that B.'s poems were edited, read and commented on. After a long period of oblivion, Kallimachos (third century BCE) seems to have been the first author and scholar whom we know to have read B.'s odes again. The Oxyrhynchus papyrus 2368 (pap. **B**), a commentary possibly compiled by Didymos at Alexandria in the first

²⁵ Theseus' encounter with Amphitrite (and Poseidon) appears once again much later, on a calyx crater of the Kadmos painter (c. 420 BCE) in Bologna, see Appendix no. 19. It may reflect a recent performance of a tragedy or a new dithyramb, hardly a repeat performance of B. 17.

century BCE (Pfeiffer, *History* 222), quotes Aristarchos (c. 217–145, the successor to Aristophanes of Byzantion as head of the Mouseion at Alexandria) as having classified one of B.'s odes as a dithyramb and given it the title 'Kassandra', whereas Kallimachos had classified it as a paean, presumably in his *Pinakes*, the great catalogue of the royal library at Alexandria which Kallimachos compiled in 120 book rolls.²⁶ It is very likely that the first classification of B.'s odes was due to him, since he is also known to have classified at least the victory odes of Simonides and Pindar (frs. 441 and 450 Pfeiffer). Moreover, he may have 'borrowed' themes and motifs from B., such as the story of Herakles' encounter with Molochos in the third book of his *Aitia* (frs. 54–9 Pfeiffer), which may have been inspired by B.'s dramatic account of Herakles' struggle with the Nemean lion in 13.44–57.

Acquaintance with B.'s works at Alexandria in the early third century is also documented by *PHibeh* II 172 = *SH* 991, a list of poetic compounds culled from epic, choral lyric, and tragic poetry, of which about one third are not attested elsewhere. Four of these compounds are found only in B.: αἰολόπρυνος (1.114), μελαμφάρης (3.13), ἵπποδίνητος (5.2), and the feminine form κυανόπρωρα (17.1; Homer has the masculine form in –ος with a feminine noun, ναῦς). His text must therefore have been available to scholars from at least the middle of the third century BCE, together with the texts of many other poets and prose authors of classical Greece who were considered 'canonical', or models in their respective literary genres: the three tragedians, the three poets of (old) comedy, the nine lyric poets, the ten Attic orators,²⁷ etc. King Ptolemy I Soter, the founder of the great Alexandrian library, had ordered all the works of Greek classical authors, 'as far as they were worth serious study' (βσκα γε σπουδαῖα ὑπῆρχεν, Eusebios, *Hist. eccles.* 5. 8.11), to be collected for his new library (Pfeiffer, *History* 198–103; Fraser, *Ptol. Alex.* 1320–30), where Kallimachos and others catalogued and classified them. There is no evidence to suggest that at this time poems of B. circulated also in any other part of the Hellenistic world, with the exception of one epigram on stone from Pergamon, datable to c.280–270 BCE (Ebert no. 59; Moretti no. 37), which celebrates a chariot victory in terms strongly reminiscent of the description in ode 5.37–49 of the race won

²⁶ Pfeiffer, *History* 125–7; Fraser, *Ptol. Alex.* 1452 and II 655 n.46.

²⁷ Although not always the same ten, and sometimes only six, are listed; cf. P. E. Easterling, *OCD*³ 286.

by Hieron's horse at the Pythian games of 476. If this epigram does indeed reflect that passage, B.'s victory ode must have been known at Pergamon; such textual similarities may, however, not be conclusive proof of familiarity with B.'s ode, because it is also possible that the author created his epigram out of his own imagination, having watched the chariot race.

After the sorting and cataloguing of the many thousands of book rolls that were delivered to the royal library at Alexandria, the next task for the scholars employed there by the king was to produce critical text editions. It was Aristophanes of Byzantion (c.260–180 BCE) who edited the texts of Alkaios, Alkman, Pindar, and probably B. and other lyric poets. It is very likely that he divided the texts, which he found written like prose, into strophes and triads which repeat identical metrical patterns, and the strophes into short verses or *cola* (see Section 5 above, p. 14), and that he used metrical 'responson' as a guideline for correcting the text. He is said to have divided Pindar's odes into 17 books (i.e. papyrus rolls), and to have ordered the odes within each book; it seems likely therefore that he did the same for the odes of B., given that their arrangement, colometry, and presentation with critical signs, such as *paragraphos* (dividing strophes), *coronis* (dividing triads) etc., are essentially the same as those found in Pindaric papyri of the late Ptolemaic and Roman periods. It may also have been Aristophanes who established the selection of nine lyric poets as models of their genre (*Anth. Pal.* 9 184 and 571; Pfeiffer, *History* 205); if so, he probably made text editions of all nine of them. From this time, the early second century BCE, copies of their works, no doubt derived from texts in Alexandria, were available, fragments of which have been found in various parts of Egypt. On the papyri of B., see Section 8 below, pp. 28–31.

Remains of two ancient commentaries on papyrus have also been preserved (pap. **B** and **M**). While pap. **M** contains mainly paraphrases of victory odes, pap. **B** preserves an interesting discussion about the classification of a poem: regarded as a paean by Kallimachos, it was reclassified as a dithyramb and labelled '*Kassandra*' by Aristarchos (see p. 26 above). The author of this commentary may well be Didymos, who is known to have discussed problems of classification in a monograph '*On lyric poets*' (Περὶ λυρικῶν ποιητῶν, cf. Pfeiffer, *History* 277). His commentary on B.'s victory odes is explicitly attested (Ammonios 333 Nickau), but this can hardly be the commentary partly preserved in pap. **M**, which is very pedestrian and on a quite modest level. One line of B. is quoted in a papyrus fragment of unidentified prose, possibly a commentary (see 15.56n.).

The chronological spread of the papyrus fragments shows that B.'s works were fairly widely read in Egypt during at least the first three centuries of Roman rule. Strabo and Horace may have known them directly from text editions, possibly also Plutarch and Pausanias, but the great majority of references are found in commentaries (*scholia*) on other poets and in grammarians and lexicographers. A fair number of passages were selected for anthologies, which have preserved them independently of the main manuscript tradition. Quotations in authors of the later Roman and Byzantine periods seem to be derived from anthologies, which also explains the erroneous attribution of four quotations to other poets (Pindar, Alkman, Ibykos). Ammianus Marcellinus reports that the emperor Julian (331–363 CE) used to quote a saying of B., 'whom he enjoyed reading' (25. 4.3) – probably in anthologies, because it seems unlikely that text editions could still be found in the middle of the fourth century.

8. THE SURVIVING PAPYRI

Of B.'s works, only a handful of lines were known from quotations and anthologies when the great papyrus **A** was discovered in 1896 and acquired for the British Museum, where F. G. Kenyon published it in 1897, together with a splendid facsimile of the entire papyrus. Kenyon reassembled it from some 200 fragments, helped by many scholars, among them Sir Richard Jebb and Friedrich Blass; in his edition, all but 42 small fragments had been inserted into their proper places, 40 of which have since been placed, nearly all of them by Blass. Two more fragments of papyrus **A**, now in Florence, were bought by Medea Norsa in Cairo in 1938, one of which belongs in ode 4 (see 4.7–10n.).

Papyrus **A** (British Library, P.Lond. inv. 733 found at Meir, some 40 km south of Mellawi, west of al-Qussiyah) preserves parts of two rolls, written by the same hand. The first 35 columns contain the book of victory odes (*epinikia*) more or less complete, the next ten columns the first half of the book of dithyrambs, which are arranged in alphabetical order by the first letter of their titles (A to I). From the way ancient authors quote lines from these books, it is clear that there was only one book of *epinikia* and one of dithyrambs (see below on pap. **O**). A papyrus published in 1956 (pap. **L**) has shown that the first book roll contained at least two more odes after column 35 of pap. **A**, the second of which (ode 14B) was very probably the

last one of this book. The book's total length can be estimated at *c.* 1300 lines – slightly less than Pindar's *Pythians* and *Olympians*, but slightly more than his *Nemeans*.

As with Pindar's Olympian and Pythian odes, B.'s victory odes are arranged according to the prominence of the victor, except that the first two celebrate a young athlete from Keos, and ode 1 tells the mythical 'history' of his and B.'s native island. Odes 3–5 were composed for Hieron's chariot victories at Olympia (in 468: 3) and Delphi (in 470: 4) and that of his racehorse at Olympia (in 476: 5). Odes 6 and 7 relate to Olympian victories, odes 8–13 to various other 'panhellenic' (Pythian, Isthmian and Nemean) victories, ode 14 to a victory at a local festival; 14B is not really a victory ode: its occasion, like that of the last ode in Pindar's book of *Nemeans*, seems to have been the appointment of a civic official.

The handwriting of pap. **A** is a beautifully clear and regular upright bookhand characterized by the contrast between broad and narrow letters; it can be dated to the late second or early third century CE. There are numerous corrections and several additions by contemporary or slightly later hands. The bulk of the corrections and additions is due to hand **A**³; this corrector has also added most of the titles, as well as five lines omitted by the main scribe (**A**): 11.106 and 18.55–7 in the top margin, 19.22 in the bottom margin. **A**³ must have collated the text either against the exemplar from which it had been copied, or against another copy. Even so, he left quite a few mistakes uncorrected and even produced some of his own (see on 3.47; 5.179; 19.9).

Papyrus **B** (POxy. xxiii 2368; second century)²⁸ preserves two columns of a commentary, apparently on dithyrambs; from col. i.8ff. it discusses a poem which Kallimachos classified as a paean, whereas Aristarchos regarded it as a dithyramb and gave it the title '*Kassandra*' (see p. 26 above). As B. is known to have composed an ode in which *Kassandra* foretold the outcome of the Trojan War (Porphyrio on Horace, ode 1. 15), this was probably the ode in question, = B. 23.

Papyrus **C** (POxy. xxiv 2364 + POxy. xxxii p. 160 'addendum' + POxy. iv 66i fr. 2 + P.Oxon.Ashmol. inv.20; second century) seems to contain fragments of dithyrambs, which E. Lobel attributed to B.: B.24–7 and 29.

²⁸ All dates are CE.

Papyrus **D** (P.Berol 16139 + 21209, found at Dîmeh in the Fayûm; early second century) partly overlaps with papyrus **C** fr. 2, but with slightly divergent colometry: B. 24.

Papyrus **H** (POxy. xxiii 2366; second century) contains remains of Doric verses on the back of a document; the editor, E. Lobel, attributed the fragment to B.'s hymns, frs. 1A and 1B.

Papyrus **L** (POxy. xxiii 2363; late second/early third century) contains the end of a poem (B. 14A) and the first eleven lines of the next (B. 14B), with which two fragments of pap. **A** overlap. On the nature of this poem, which may have been the last in the book of B.'s victory odes, see above, p. 10.

Papyrus **M** (POxy. xxiii 2367; second century) belongs to a roll made up of various documents, which has parts of a commentary on B.'s victory odes on the reverse. On the nature of this commentary, see above, p. 27.

Papyrus **O** (POxy. viii 1091 = British Library, inv. 2056; second and third centuries) was part of a book roll of B.'s dithyrambs. A parchment label (*silybos*) was attached to the top margin, giving the title of the roll: the original title,²⁹ Ἀντηνορίδαι ἡ Ἑλένης ἀπαιτήσεις (the title of B. 15), was washed out and replaced by Βακχουλίδου διθύραμβοι in a third-century hand. The label confirms that B. 15 was the first ode in his book of dithyrambs. The papyrus itself preserves B. 17.47–78 and 91–2 in the same colometry as pap. **A**; verse 63, left out in **O** and misplaced in **A** (between 61 and 62), may have been left out but added in the margin of the exemplar from which both **A** and **O** are derived: the scribe of **A** inserted it in the wrong place, the scribe of **O** overlooked it (unless he added it in the bottom or left-hand margin, now lost).

Papyrus **P** (POxy. xi 1361 + xvii 2081e = British Library, inv. 2443; first century) comes from a roll with some marginal notes (scholia) but no *paragraphoi*: their absence in this otherwise carefully annotated papyrus is strange. A quotation by Athenaios (second century) of eleven lines, which he attributes to B., overlaps with part of column 5; the poems represented (frs. 20A–C) may be *enkomia*, see pp. 238–9.

Papyrus **Q** (POxy. xxiii 2362; late second/early third century) preserves six fragments of a roll written by the same hand as papyrus **U**. Some of the fragments of pap. **P** overlap with pap. **Q**, and a scholion of pap. **P** (POxy. 2081e fr. 2) relates to a passage in pap. **Q** (see introd. to fr. 20D, pp. 255–6).

²⁹ Deciphered by Edmonds (1922) 160.

Papyrus **T** (*POxy.* III 426 = Victoria University, Toronto 5; early third century) was published by B. Snell (*Hermes* 67,1932,1–13) who had seen that the last ten verses on the back of a documentary text partially overlap with the first ten verses of a passage quoted by Stobaios (4. 14.3) from B.'s paeans, = B. fr. 4.61–80.

Papyrus **U** (*POxy.* xxiii 2361, by the same hand as pap. **Q**) contains verses which overlap with a quotation in Hephaestion, = B. fr. 19, apparently from a book of love poetry (*erotika*), from which Hephaestion also quotes fr. 17.

9. SIGLA AND EDITORIAL CONVENTIONS

α	uncertain letter	ⲕⲣ	‘mute and liquid’ not
[α]	letter lost in the papyrus		counting as double
⌊α⌋	letter lost but transmitted		consonant (i.e. not
	in another source		lengthening the preceding
<α>	letter added by editor		vowel)
{α}	letter deleted by editor	ῥ, σ	letter treated as double
[[α]]	letter deleted in the		consonant (i.e. lengthening
	papyrus		the preceding vowel)
A	scribe of papyrus London	D	P. Berol. 16139 + 21209
	733 and PSI 1278	H	P. Oxy. 2366
A ¹	corrections by this scribe	L	P. Oxy. 2363
A ²	first corrector	M	P. Oxy. 2367
A ³	second corrector	O	P. Oxy. 1091
A ⁴	third corrector	P	P. Oxy. 1361+2081 (e)
A ^{1?}	= A ¹ rather than A ² or A ³	Q	P. Oxy. 2362
A ^{3?}	= A ³ rather than A ¹ or A ²	T	P. Oxy. 426
B	P. Oxy. 2368	U	P. Oxy. 2361
C	P. Oxy. 2364		
⊗	beginning or end of a poem		
	end of a strophe		
	end of a period		
	end of word recurring in the same position throughout the poem		
⋮	end of word in most instances		
⋮ - : or ⋮ - ⋮	end of word either before or after the syllable.		

Examples illustrating the principle of the critical apparatus:

πεδίωι (in the text)

1. ΠΕΔΙΟΝ: A¹ i.e. ΠΕΔΙΟΝ A, ΠΕΔΙΩΙ A¹ (correct reading)
2. ΠΕΔΙΟΝ: Bl. i.e. ΠΕΔΙΟΝ A, πεδίωι Blass (correct reading)
3. ΠΕΔΙΟΝ A¹ i.e. ΠΕΔΙΩΙ A, ΠΕΔΙΟΝ A¹ (wrong reading)
4. πεδίον Bl. i.e. ΠΕΔΙΩΙ A, πεδίον proposed by Blass but not adopted in this edition.

ΙΕΡΩΝΙ ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΙ
ΙΠΠΟΙΣ [ΟΛΥ] ΜΠΙΑ

[illegible]

A' Ἀριστο[κ]άρπου Σικελίας κρέουσιν
 Δ[ά]ματρα ἰστέφανόν τε Κούραν
 ὕμνει, γλυκύδωρε Κλεοῖ, θoάς τ' Ὅ—
 λυμ] πιoδρόμους Ἰέρωνος ἱππ[ο]υς.

5 σεύον] το γὰρ σὺν ὑπερόχωι τε Νίκᾱι
σὺν Ἀγ'λαΐᾱι τε παρ' εὐρυδίαναν
Ἀλφεόν, τόθι] Δεινομένεος ἔθηκαν
ὄλβιον τ[έκος στεφάνω]ν κυρῆσαι·

θρόησε δὲ λαὸς — —.

- col. 7 10 ἃ τρισευδαίμ[ων ἀνὴρ,
 ὃς παρὰ Ζηνὸς λαχὼν
 πλείσταρχον Ἑλλάνων γέρας
 οἶδε πυργωθέντα πλοῦτον μὴ μελαμ-
 φαρέϊ κρύπτειν σκότῳ.
)—
- B' 15 βρῦει μὲν ἱερὰ βουθύτοις ἑορταῖς,
 βρύουσι φιλοξενίας ἀγνιαί·
 λάμπει δ' ὑπὸ μαρμαρυγαῖς ὁ χρυσός,
 ὑψιδαιδάλτων τριπόδων σταθέντων
 —
- 20 πάροιθε ναοῦ, τόθι μέγιστον ἄλσος
 Φοῖβου παρὰ Κασταλίας ῥέεθροις
 Δελφοὶ διέπουσι. θεὸν θ[εό]ν τις
 ἀγλαϊζέθῳ γὰρ ἄριστος ὄλβων·
 —
- 25 ἐπεὶ ποτε καὶ δαμασίππου
 Λυδίας ἀρχαγέταν,
 εὔτε τὰν πεπ[ρωμένων]
 Ζηνὸς τελέ[σσαντος κρί]σιν
 Σάρδιες Περσέ[ιν ἀλίσκοντο στρ]ατῶι,
 Κροῖσον ὁ χρυσά[ορος]
)—
- Γ' 30 φύλαξ' Ἀπόλλων. [ὁ δ' ἐς] ἄελπτον ἄμαρ
 μ[ο]λῶν πολυδ[άκρυο]ν οὐκ ἔμελλε
 μίμνειν ἔτι δ[ουλοσύ]ναν· πυρὰν δὲ
 χαλκ[ο]τειχέος π[ροπάροι]θεν αὐ[τῷ]
 —
- ναήσατ', ἔνθα σὺ[ν ἀλόχῳ]ι τε κεδ[υ]νᾷ
 σὺν εὐπλοκάμοι[ς τ'] ἐπέβαιν' ἄλ[α]στον

12 ΓΕΝΟΣ: A¹ 13 ΜΕΛΛΗ: A¹? 25 Palmer 26 τελέσσαντος Wackernagel | κτίσιν Kenyon, κρίσιν Weil 27 ἀλίσκοντο Wackernagel, ἐπόρθηθεν Maas 28 χρυσά[ορος] Palmer, χρυσά[ρματος] Kenyon 31 δουλοσύναν Jebb

- 35 θ[υ]χ]ατράσι δυρομέναις· χέρας δ' [ἐς
αἶ]πὺν αἰθέρα σφετέρως αἰέρας
—
γέ]γωνεν· “ὑπέρ[βι]ε δαῖμον,
πο]ῦ θεῶν ἐστιν χάρις;
πο]ῦ δὲ Λατοίδας ἄναξ;
40 ἔρρουσ]ιν Ἀλυά[τ]τα δόμοι
— — — — —] μυρίων
— — — — —]ν·
)—
Δ' — — — — —]ν ἄστρῳ,
ἐρεύθεται αἶματι χρυσο]δίνας
col. 8 45 Πακτωλός, αἰκελίως γυναικες
 ἐξ ἐϋκτίτων μεγάρων ἄγονται·
—
τὰ πρόσθεν [ἐχ]θρὰ φίλα· θανεῖν γλύκιστον.”
τόσ' εἶπε, καὶ ἀβ[ρο]βάταν κ[έλε]υσεν
ἄπτειν ξύλινον δόμον. ἐκ[λα]γον δὲ
50 παρθένοι, φίλας τ' ἄνὰ ματρὶ χεῖρας
—
ἐβαλλον· ὁ γὰρ προφανὴς θνα-
τοῖσιν ἐχθιστος φόνων·
ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ δεινοῦ πυρὸς
λαμπρὸν διὰῖ[σσε]ν μέ]νος,
55 Ζεὺς ἐπιστάσας [με]λαγκευ]θὲς νέφος
 σβέννυνεν ξανθὰ[ν φλό]γα.
)—
Ε' ἄπιστον οὐδέν, ὃ τι θ[εῶν μέ]ριμνα
 τεύχει· τότε Δαλογενή[ς Ἀπό]λλων
 φέρων ἐς Ὑπερβορέο[υς γ]έροντα

44 Kenyon, cf. Hesych. ε 5756 ἐρεύθεται· πίμπλαται 47 ΘΕΝΔ: Fraccaroli |
ἐχθρὰ Palmer | ΝΥΝ supra ΑΦΙΛ add. **A**³ 56 Palmer

- 60 σὺν τανισφύροις κατ[έν]ασσε κούραις
 —
 δι' εὐσέβειαν, ὅτι μέ[γιστα] θ̣νατῶν
 ἐς ἀγαθέαν <άν>έπεμψε Π[υθ]ῶ.
 ὅσο[ι] <γε> μὲν Ἑλλάδ' ἔχουσιν, [ο]ὔτι[ς],
 ὦ μεγαίνητῃ ἱέρων, θελήσει
- 65 φάμ]εν σέο πλείονα χρυσὸν
 Λοξί]αι πέμψαι βροτῶν.
 εὖ λέγειν πάρεστιν, ὅσ-
 τις μ]ῆ φθόνωι πιαίνεται,
 . . .]λη φίλιππον ἄνδρ' ἀρήϊον
- 70 . . .]ίου σκάπτρον Διός
)—
- F' ἰοπλό]κων τε μέρο[ς ἔχοντ]α Μουσᾶν·
 . . .]μαλεαί ποτ[ε] 'ἰων
 . . .]νος ἐφάμερον α[.]·
 . . .]α σκοπεῖς· βραχ[ύς ἐστιν αἰών·
- 75 πτερ]όεσσα δ' ἐλπίς ὑπ[ολύει ν]όημα
 ἐφαμ]ερίων· ὁ δ' ἄναξ [Ἀπόλλων
]'λος εἶπε Φέρη[τος υἱ]·
- col. 9 “θνατὸν εὖντα χρή διδύμους ἄέξειν
 —
- 80 γνώμας, ὅτι τ' αὐριον ὄψεαι
 μῦνον ἁλίου φάος,
 χῶτι πεντήκοντ' ἔτεα
 ζωὰν βαθύπλουτον τελεῖς.
 ὅσια δρῶν εὐφραине θυμόν· τοῦτο γὰρ
 κερδέων ὑπέρτατον.”
)—

62 <άν> Blass 63 <γε> Blass 65 φάμεν Blass 66 Blass 68 ὅστις
 μὴ Palmer 69 εὐθαλῇ Sandys 70 ξεινίου Nairn, τεθμίου vel δαμίου Blass
 71 Blass 74 καίρι]α σκόπει{ς} Lloyd-Jones cl. schol. pap. M fr.3 | βραχ[ύς ἐστιν
 αἰών Blass 77 ἐκαβόλος Jebb | υἱί Platt, Wackernagel

- Z' 85 φρονέοντι συνετὰ γαρύω· βαθὺς μὲν
αἰθήρ ἁμίαντος· ὕδωρ δὲ πόντου
οὐ σάπεται· εὐφροσύνα δ' ὁ χρυσός·
ἄνδρὶ δ' οὐ θέμις, πολὺν τι[αρ]έντα
- 90 γῆρας, θάλ[εια]ν αὔτις ἀγκομίσσαι
ἦβαν. ἄρετᾶ[ς γε μ]ὲν οὐ μινύθει
βροτῶν ἅμα σ[ώμ]ατι φέγγος, ἀλλὰ
Μοῦσά νιν τρ[έφει.] ἱέρων, σὺ δ' ὄλβου
- 95 οὐ φέρει κόσμ[ον σί]ω-
πά· σὺν δ' ἀλαθ[εῖαι] καλῶν
καὶ μελιγλώσσου τις ὑμνήσει χάριν
Κηῖας ἀηδόνας.

4

ΤΩΙ ΑΥΤΩΙ
<ΙΠΠΟΙΣ> ΠΥΘΙΑ

metrum: aeolica et dactylica (v. p. 16)

1	υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ	<i>gl</i>
	υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ	<i>hipp</i>
3	υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ	<i>4 da</i>
	υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ	<i>decasyllab (= υ - gl) cr</i>
5	υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ	
	υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ	<i>6 da_Λ ba</i>
7	υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ < υ > υ	<i>gl</i>
	υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ	<i>ba_Λ hipp = chodim ba</i>
9	υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ	<i>chodim</i>
	υ υ υ υ υ υ υ υ	<i>hipp </i>

- A' 1 Ἔτι Συρακοσίαν φιλεῖ
πόλιν ὁ χρυσοκόμας Ἀπόλλων,

	9	— — — — — — — — — —	
		— — — — — — — —	— D — e — D
	11	— — — — — — — —	
		— — — — — — — —	— D E
	13	— — — — — — — —	
		— — — — — — — —	
		— — — — — — — —	— D — D E
ΕΠ		— — — — — — — — — —	— d' E ≈ D
	3	— — — — — — — — — —	
		— — — — — — — —	— D ≈ e — E —
	5	— — — — — — — —	
		— — — — — — — — — —	D — E ≈ e
	7	— — — — — — — — — —	
		— — — — — — — — — —	— D ≈ E —
	9	— — — — — — — —	
		— — — — — — — — — —	D E ≈ e —

A'	1	Εὖμοιρε [Σ]υρακ[οσίω]ν
		ἵπποδινήτων στρατα[γ]έ,
	3	γνώσῃ μὲν [i]οστεφάνων
		Μοισᾶν γλυκ[ύ]δωρον ἀγαλμα, τῶν γε νῦν
5	5	αἶ τις ἐπιχθονίων,
		ὀρθῶς· φρένα δ' εὐθύδικ[ο]ν
	7	ἀτρέμ' ἀμπαύσας μεριμνᾶν
		δεῦρ' <ᾱγ'> ἄθρησον νόωι·
	9	ἧ σὺν Χαρίτεσσι βαθυζώνοις ὑφάνας
10		ὕμνον ἀπὸ ζαθέας
	11	νάσου ξένος ὑμετέραν
		ἔς κλυτὰν πέμπει πόλιν,
	13	χρυσάμπυκος Οὐρανίας
		κλεινὸς θεράπων· ἐθέλει

5 8 <ᾱγ'> Maehler 11–12 ΠΕΜ : ΠΕΙ ΚΛΕΕΝΝΑΝ ΕΣ ΠΟΛΙΝ A: Maas
 14 ΕΘΕΛΕΙ ΔΕ Α: δὲ secl. Walker

- 15 γάρνυν ἐκ στηθέων χέων
—
1 αἰνεῖν ἱέρωνα. βαθύν
δ' αἰθέρα ξουθαῖσι τάμνων
3 ὕψοῦ πτερύγεσσι ταχεί-
αις αἰετὸς εὐρυάνακτος ἄγγελος
20 5 Ζηνὸς ἐρισφαράγου
θαρσεῖ κρατερᾷ πίσυνος
7 ἰσχυῖ, πτάσσοντι δ' ὄρνι-
χες λιγύφθογγοι φόβωι·
9 οὗ νιν κορυφαὶ μεγάλας ἴσχουσι γαίας,
25 οὐδ' ἄλλος ἀκαμάτας
col. II 11 δυσπαίπαλα κύματα· νω-
μαῖ δ' ἐν ἀτρύτῳ χάει
13 λεπτότριχα σὺν ζεφύρου πνοι-
αῖσιν ἔθειραν ἀρί-
30 γνωτος ἀνθρώποις ἰδεῖν·
—
1 τῶς νῦν καὶ <ἐ>μοὶ μυρία πάνταί κέλευθος
ὑμετέραν ἀρετάν
3 ὕμνεῖν, κυανοπλοκάμου θ' ἑκατὶ Νίκας
χαλκεοστέρνου τ' Ἄρηος,
35 5 Δεινομένευσ ἀγέρωχοι
παῖδες· εὖ ἔρδων δὲ μὴ κάμοι θεός.
7 ξανθότριχα μὲν Φερένικον
Ἄλφεόν παρ' εὐρυδῖναν
9 πῶλον ἀελλοδρόμαν
40 εἶδε νικάσαντα χρυσόπαχυς Ἀώς,
)—
B' 1 Πυθῶνί τ' ἐν ἀγαθείαι·
γαῖ δ' ἐπισκήπτων πιφαύσκω·

26–27 ΝΩΜΑΙ : ΤΑΙ Α: ΝΩΜΑ : ΤΑΙ Α¹: Walker
Α: μετ' secl. Walker

30 ΜΕΤ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΙΣ

- 3 οὔπω νιν ὑπὸ προτέ[ρω]ν
 ἵππων ἐν ἀγῶνι κατέχρανεν κόνις
 45 5 πρὸς τέλος ὀρνύμενον·
 ῥιπᾶι γὰρ ἴσος βορέα
 7 ὃν κυβερνήταν φυλάσσων
 ἵεται νεόκροτον
 9 νίκαν Ἰέρωνι φιλοξείνῳ τιτύσκων.
 50 5 ὄλβιος ὥτινι θεός
 11 μοῖράν τε καλῶν ἔπορεν
 σύν τ' ἐπιζήλῳ τύχῃ
 13 ἀφνεῶν βιοτὰν διάγειν· οὐ
 γὰρ τις ἐπιχθονίων
 55 π[ιάντ]α γ' εὐδαίμων ἔφυ.
 —
 1 τ[ὸν γάρ π]οτ' ἐρειψιπύλαν
 παῖδ' ἀνίκ]ατον λέγουσιν
 3 δῦναι Διὸς] ἀργικεράυ-
 col. 12 νου δώματα Φερσεφόνας τανισφύρου,
 60 5 καρχαρόδοντα κύν' ἄ-
 ξοντ' ἐς φάος ἐξ Ἀΐδα,
 7 υἱὸν ἀπλάτοϊ' Ἐχίδνας·
 ἔνθα δυστάνων βροτῶν
 9 ψυχὰς ἐδάη παρὰ Κωκυτοῦ ῥέεθροις,
 65 οἷά τε φύλλ' ἄνεμος
 11 Ἰδας ἀνὰ μηλοβότους
 πρῶνας ἀργηστάς δονεῖ.
 13 ταῖσιν δὲ μετέπρεπεν εἶδω-
 λον θρασυμέμονος ἐγ-
 70 χεσπάλου Πορθανίδα·
 —
 1 τὸν δ' ὥς ἶδεν Ἀλκμή<ν>ιος θαυμαστὸς ἦρωας
 τ[ε]ύχεσι λαμπρόμενον,

56 T[*potius quam* Υ[*], suppl. Maehler*70 ΘΑΝΙΔΑ: ΘΑΟΝΙΔΑ A²

- 3 νευρὰν ἐπέβασε λιγυκλαγγῇ κορώνας·
χαλκεόκρανον δ' ἔπειτ' ἔξ
- 75 5 εἶλετο ἰὸν ἀναπτύ-
ξας φαρέτρας πῶμα· τῷ δ' ἐναντία
- 7 ψυχὰ προφάνη Μελεάγρου
καί νιν εὖ εἰδὼς προσεῖπεν·
- 9 “υἱὲ Διὸς μεγάλου,
80 στᾶθι τ' ἐν χώρῃ, γελανώσας τε θυμόν
-)—
- Γ' 1 μὴ ταῦσιον προῖει
τραχὺν ἐκ χειρῶν οἴστών
- 3 ψυχᾷσιν ἔπι φθιμένων·
οὐ τοι δέος.” ὥς φάτο· θάμβησεν δ' ἄναξ
- 85 5 Ἀμφιτρωνιάδας,
εἶπέν τε· “τίς ἀθανάτων
- 7 ἦ βροτῶν τοιοῦτον ἔρνος
θρέψεν ἐν ποίᾳ χθονί;
- 9 τίς δ' ἔκτανεν; ἦ τάχα καλλίζωνος Ἥρα
90 κεῖνον ἐφ' ἀμετέρᾳ
- 11 πέμψει κεφαλᾷ· τὰ δέ που
col. 13 Παλλάδι ξανθᾷ μέλει.”
- 13 τὸν δὲ προσέφα Μελέαγρος
δακρυόεις· “χαλεπὸν
- 95 θεῶν παρατρέψαι νόον
-
- 1 ἀνδρεσσιν ἐπιχθονίοις.
καὶ γὰρ ἄν πλάξιππος Οἰνεύς
- 3 παῦσεν καλυκοστεφάνου
σεμνᾶς χόλον Ἀρτέμιδος λευκωλένου
- 100 5 λισσόμενος πολέων
τ' αἰγῶν θυσίαισι πατήρ
- 7 καὶ βοῶν φοινικονώτων·
ἀλλ' ἀνίκατον θεά
- 9 ἔσχεν χόλον· εὐρυβίαν δ' ἔσσευε κούρα
- 105 κάπρον ἀναιδομάχαν

11 ἔς καλλίχορον Καλυδῶ-
 ν', ἔνθα πλημύρων σθένει
 13 ὄρχους ἐπέκειρεν ὀδόντι,
 σφάζε τε μήλα, βροτῶν
 110 θ' ὅστις εἰσάνταν μόλοι.

1 τῶι δὲ στυγεράν δῆριν Ἑλλάνων ἄριστοι
 στάσαμεθ' ἐνδυκέως
 3 ἕξ ἅματα συνεχέως· ἐπεὶ δὲ δαίμων
 κάρτος Αἰτωλοῖς ὄρεξεν,
 115 5 θάπτομεν οὓς κατέπεφνεν
 σῆς ἐριβρύχας ἐπαῖσσω βίῃ,
 7 Ἀ[γκ]αῖον ἐμῶν τ' Ἀγέλαον
 φ[έρτ]ατον κεδνῶν ἀδελφεῶν,
 9 οὓς τέ]κεν ἐν μεγάροις
 120]ς Ἀλθαία περικλειτοῖσιν Οἰνέος.

Δ'
 1 τοὺς δ' ὦ]λεσε μοῖρ' ὅλοα
 πάντα]ς· οὐ γάρ πω δαΐφρων
 3 παῦσεν] χόλον ἀγροτέρα
 col. 14 Λατοῦς θυγάτηρ· περὶ δ' αἰθωνος δορᾶς
 125 5 μαρνάμεθ' ἐνδυκέως
 Κουρῆσι μενεπτολέμοις·
 7 ἐνθ' ἐγὼ πολλοῖς σὺν ἄλλοις
 Ἴφικλον κατέκτανον
 9 ἐσθλὸν τ' Ἀφάρητα, θεοὺς μάρτρωας· οὐ γὰρ
 130 καρτερόθυμος Ἴφρης
 11 κρίνει φίλον ἐν πολέμῳ,
 τυφλὰ δ' ἐκ χειρῶν βέλη
 13 ψυχαῖς ἔπι δυσμενέων φοι-
 τᾷ θάνατόν τε φέρει

106 ΟΣ: ὍΣ Α³?: ἔς Palmer 113 ΣΥΝΕ Α: ΣΥΝΝΕ Α³ 117 ΑΓΓΕΛΟΝ:
 Kenyon 120 πατὴρ Kenyon, παῖδας Schadewaldt 122 πλεῦνας Hous-
 man, πάντας Ludwig

- 135 τοῖσιν ἄν δαίμων θέληι.
—
1 ταῦτ' οὐκ ἐπιλεξαμένα
Θεστίου κούρα δαΐφρων
3 μάττηρ κακόποτμος ἐμοὶ
βούλευσεν ὄλεθρον ἀτάρβακτος γυνά,
140 5 καῖέ τε δαιδαλέας
ἐκ λάρνακος ὠκύμορον
7 φιτρὸν ἐξαύσασα· τὸν δὴ
μοῖρ' ἐπέκλωσεν τότε
9 ζωᾶς ὄρον ἀμετέρας ἔμμεν. τύχον μὲν
145 Δαῖπύλου Κλύμενον
11 παῖδ' ἄλκιμον ἐξεναρί-
ζων ἀμώμητον δέμας,
13 πύργων προπάροιθε κιχήσας·
τοὶ δὲ πρὸς εὐκτιμέναν
150 φεῦγον ἀρχαίαν πόλιν
—
1 Πλευρῶνα· μίνυθεν δέ μοι ψυχὰ γλυκεῖα·
γνῶν δ' ὀλιγοσθενέων,
3 αἰαῖ· πύματον δὲ πνέων δάκρυσα τλά[μων,
ἀγλαὰν ἦβαν προλείπων.”
155 5 φασὶν ἀδεισιβόαν
col. 15 Ἀμφιτρύωνος παῖδα μοῦνον δὴ τότε
7 τέγξαι βλέφαρον, ταλαπενθέος
πότμον οἰκτίροντα φωτός·
9 καὶ νιν ἀμειβόμενος
160 τᾷδ' ἔφα· “θνατοῖσι μὴ φῦναι φέριστον
)—
Ε' 1 μὴδ' ἑλίου προσιδεῖν
φέγγος· ἀλλ' οὐ γάρ τις ἔστιν
3 πρᾶξις τάδε μυρομένοις·
χρὴ κεῖνο λέγειν ὅτι καὶ μέλλει τελεῖν.

142 ΕΓΚΛΑΥΣΑΣΑ: Wackernagel

151 ΜΙΝΥΝΘΑ (cf. Il. A 416): Wilamowitz

- 165 5 ἦρά τις ἐν μεγάροις
Οἰνῆος ἀρηϊφίλου
7 ἔστιν ἀδμήτα θυγάτρων,
σοὶ φυὰν ἀλιγκία;
9 τάν κεν λιπαρὰν <ἐ>θέλων θείμαν ἄκοιτιν.”
- 170 τὸν δὲ μενεπτολέμου
11 ψυχὰ προσέφα Μελεά-
γρου· “λίπον χλωραύχενα
13 ἐν δώμασι Δαϊάνειραν,
νῆϊν ἔτι χρϋσέας
175 Κύπριδος θελξιμβρότου.”
-
- 1 λευκώλενε Καλλιόπα,
στᾶσον εὐποίητον ἄρμα
3 αὐτοῦ· Δία τε Κρονίδα
ὑμνησον Ὀλύμπιον ἀρχαγὸν θεῶν,
- 180 5 τόν τ’ ἀκαμαντορόαν
Ἀλφεόν, Πέλοπός τε βίαν,
7 καὶ Πίσαν, ἔνθ’ ὁ κλεηνὸς
πο]σσὶ νικάσας δρόμωι
9 ἦλθ]εν Φερένικος <ἐς> εὐπύργους Συρακόσ-
185 σας Ἰέρωνι φέρων
11 εὐδ]αιμονίας πέταλον.
χρῆ] δ’ ἀλαθείας χάριν
- col. 16 13 αἰνεῖν, φθόνον ἀμφ[οτέραισιν
χερσὶν ἀπωσάμενον,
190 εἴ τις εὖ πράσσοι βροτῶ[ν.
-
- 1 Βοιωτὸς ἀνὴρ τᾶδε φών[ησεν, γλυκειᾶν
Ἑσίοδος πρόπολος
3 Μουσᾶν, ὃν <ἄν> ἀθάνατοι τι[μῶσι, τούτῳ
καὶ βροτῶν φήμαν ἐπ[εσθαι.

184 ἦλθεν . . . <ἐς> Blass, Housman

187 ΑΛΗΘ: Blass

- 195 5 πείθομαι εὐμαρέως
 εὐκλέεα κεύθου γλῶσσαν οὐ[--- ~ -
 7 πέμπειν Ἰέρωνι· τόθεν γὰρ
 πυθμένες θάλλουσιν ἐσθλ[ών,
 9 τοὺς ὁ μεγιστοπάτωρ
 200 Ζεὺς ἀκινήτους ἐν εἰρήν[ᾱ φυλάσσοι.

6

ΛΑΧΩΝΙ ΚΕΙΩΙ
 <ΠΑΙΔΙ> ΣΤΑΔΙΕΙ ΟΛΥΜΠ[ΙΑ

metrum: aeolicum (v. p. 16) A'-B'

1	~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~	<i>ia ba anacl </i>
3	~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~	<i>2 cho ba ^pher </i>
5	~ ~ ~ ~ ~	<i>lec </i>
6	~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~	<i>gl hipp </i>
8	~ ~ ~ ~ ~	<i>(^pher)</i>

- A' Λάχων Διὸς μεγίστου
 λάχε φέρτατον πόδεσσι
 3 κῦδος ἐπ' Ἀλφεοῦ προχοαῖσ[~ - -
 δι' ὅσσα πάροιθεν
 5 ἀμπελοτρόφον Κέον
 6 ἄεισάν ποτ' Ὀλυμπίᾱι
 πύξ τε καὶ στάδιον κρατεῦ[σαν
 στεφάνοις ἐθείρας
)—
 B' νεανίαι βρύνοντες.
 10 σέ δὲ νῦν ἀναξιμόλπου
 3 Οὐρανίας ὕμνος ἕκατι Νίκ[ας,
 Ἀριστομένειον
 ὦ ποδάνεμον τέκος,

196 οὐκ ἐκτὸς δίκας Jebb 200 Blass alii

6 3 ΛΑΦΕΙΟΥ: ΑΛΦ Α³: -φεοῦ Kenyon | ἀέθλων Housman, προχοαῖσ[σιν ἴσον
 Schwartz, -αῖσ[ι τοῖον (vel ῥέξας) Machler

6 γεραίρει προδόμοις ἄοι-
δαῖς, ὅτι στάδιον κρατήσας
Κέον εὐκλείῃσας.

ΑΛΕΞΙΔΑΜΩΙ ΜΕΤΑΠΟΝΤΙΝΩΙ
ΠΑΙΔΙ ΠΑΛΑΙΣΤΗΙ ΠΥΘΙΑ

 ΣTP

— — — — —	— D — E —
3 — — — — —	— D E —
5 — — — — —	
— — — — —	D — D e — d'
8 — — — — —	— D
9 — — — — —	— D ≡ e —
— — — — —	
— — — — —	— D — D
12 — — — — —	— D ≡ e —
— — — — —	
— — — — —	— D — E —

	$-\bar{c} - \bar{c} - \bar{c} - \bar{c} -$	
	$-\bar{c} - \bar{c} - \bar{c} - \bar{c} - \bar{c} - \bar{c} - \bar{c} -$	$-D \mid -D \mid \sim e - \mid$
3	$-\bar{c} - \bar{c} - \bar{c} - \bar{c} -$	$D \mid$
	$-\bar{c} - \bar{c} - \bar{c} - \bar{c} - \bar{c} -$	
	$-\bar{c} - \bar{c} - \bar{c} - \bar{c} - \bar{c} - \bar{c} -$	$-D E - \parallel$
6	$-\bar{c} - \bar{c} - \bar{c} - \bar{c} - \bar{c} -$	
	$-\bar{c} - \bar{c} - \bar{c} - \bar{c} - \bar{c} - \bar{c} -$	$-D - E \parallel$
	$-\bar{c} - \bar{c} - \bar{c} - \bar{c} - \bar{c} - \bar{c} - \bar{c} - \bar{c} -$	$-D \cong e \mid$
9	$-\bar{c} - \bar{c} - \bar{c} - \bar{c} - \bar{c} - \bar{c} -$	$-D \mid$
	$-\bar{c} - \bar{c} - \bar{c} - \bar{c} - \bar{c} - \bar{c} -$	$-D \parallel$
	$-\bar{c} - \bar{c} - \bar{c} - \bar{c} - \bar{c} - \bar{c} - \bar{c} - \bar{c} -$	$E - e - \parallel$

12 — — — — —

— — — — —

— — — — —

— D — D E — |||

A'

- 1 Νίκα γλυκύδωρε· [μόναι γὰρ
 σοὶ πατ[ήρ — — — — —
 3 ὑψίζυ[γος — — — — —
 ἐν πολυχρύσῳ <τ> Ὀλύμπῳ
 5 5 Ζηνὶ παρισταμένα
 κρίνεις τέλος ἀθανάτοι-
 σὶν τε καὶ θνατοῖς ἀρετᾶς·
 8 ἔλλαθι, [βαθυ]πλοκάμου
 κούρα Σ[τυγὸς ὄρ]θοδίκου· σέθεν δ' ἕκατι
 10 10 καὶ νῦ[ν Μετ]απόντιον εὐ-
 γύνων κ[ατέ]χουσι νέων
 12 κῶμοί τε καὶ εὐφροσύναι θεότιμον ἄστυ·
 ὑμνεῦσι δὲ Πυθιόνικον
 παῖδα θαητ[ὸ]ν Φαῖσκου.
-
- 15 1 ἱλεώϊ νιν ὁ Δα[λ]ογενὴς υἱ-
 ὸς βαθυζώνῳ[ιο] Λατοῦς
 3 δέκτ[ο] βλεφά[ρῳ]1· πολέες
 δ' ἄμφ' Ἀλεξ[ί]δα]μον ἀνθέων
 5 ἐν πεδίῳ στέφανοι
 20 Κίρρας ἔπεσον κρατερᾶς
 ἦρα παννίκοι<ο> πάλας·
 8 οὐκ ε[ῖ] δέ νιν ἄελιος
 κείνῳ γε σὺν ἄματι πρὸς γαῖαι πεσόντα.
 10 φάσω δὲ καὶ ἐν ζαθέοις
 25 ἄγνωϋ Πέλοπος δαπέδοις

11 1 μόναί γὰρ Ed. Fraenkel, κλυτὰν γὰρ Snell 2 σοὶ πατὴρ τιμὰν ἔδωκεν
 Hense, τεθμόν δέδωκεν Maehler 3 ὑψ. Οὐρανιδᾶν Jebb, Οὐρανίδας Snell 4
 <τ> Snell <δ> Neue 8 ἑλληθι Wackernagel | βαθυπλ. Jebb 9 Blass
 10—11 El : ΓΥΙΩΝ: A¹ 11 Blass alii 21 ΝΙΚΟΙΠΑΛ: Kenyon | ΠΑΛΛΑΣ:
 A³

- ¹² Ἄλφεον πάρα καλλιρόαν, δίκας κέλευθον
εἰ μή τις ἀπέτραπεν ὀρθῶς,
παγξένωι χαίταν ἐλαίῃ
-
- ¹ γλαυκᾶι στεφανωσάμενον
30 πορτιτρόφον [Ἰταλ]ῖ [αν πάτ]ραν θ' ἰκέσθαι.
3 [— — — —]
- col. 24 ¹ παῖδ' ἐν χθονὶ καλλιχόρωι
ποικίλαις τέχναις πέλασσεν·
- ⁶ ἀλλ' ἢ θεὸς αἴτιος, ἢ
35 γ]νῶμαι πολύπλαγκτοι βροτῶν
ἄ]μερσαν ὑπέρτατον ἐκ χειρῶν γέρας.
- ⁹ νῦν δ' Ἄρτεμις ἀγροτέρα
χρυσαλάλατος λιπαράν
Ἑ]μέρα τοξόκλυτος νίκαν ἔδωκε.
- 40 ¹² τ]ᾶι ποτ' Ἀβαντιάδας
β]ωμὸν κατένασσε πολὺλ-
λ[ι]στον εὐπεπλοί τε κοῦραι·
-)—
- B' ¹ τὰς ἐξ ἐρατῶν ἐφόβησε<ν>
παγκρατῆς Ἥρα μελάθρων
- 45 ³ Προίτου, παραπλῆγι φρένας
καρτερᾶι ζεύξασ' ἀνάγκᾱι·
- ⁵ παρθενίᾱι γὰρ ἔτι
ψυχᾶι κίον ἐς τέμενος
πορφυροζώνοιο θεᾶς·
- 50 ⁸ φάσκον δὲ πολὺ σφέτερον
πλούτῳι προφέρειν πατέρα ξανθᾶς παρέδρου
- ¹⁰ σεμνοῦ Διὸς εὐρυβιά.
ταῖσιν δὲ χολωσαμένα
- ¹² στήθεσσι παλίντροπον ἔμβαλεν νόημα·

30 Platt 31 ἢ τίνα γὰρ ποτὶ γᾶι e.g. Maehler 39 Blass 45 ΠΑΡΑΠΛΗΓΙ:
Kenyon, παραπλᾶγι Blass 54 ΒΑΛΕΝΟΜΜΑ: Kenyon

- 55 φεῦγον δ' ὄρος ἐς τανίφυλλον
 σμερδαλέαν φωνὰν ἰεῖσαι,
-
- 1 Τίρυνθιον ἄστυ λιποῦσαι
 καὶ θεοδμάτους ἀγυιάς.
3 ἤδη γὰρ ἔτος δέκατον
60 θεοφίλεις λιπόντες Ἄργος
5 ναῖον ἀδαισιβόαι
 χαλκάσπιδες ἡμίθεοι
 σὺν πολυζήλῳ βασιλεῖ.
8 νεῖκος γὰρ ἀμαιμάκετον
65 βληχρᾶς ἀνέπαλτο κασιγνήτοις ἀπ' ἀρχᾶς
col. 25 10 Προίτῳ τε καὶ Ἀκρισίῳ·
 λαοὺς τε διχοστασίαις
12 ἤρειπον ἀμετροδίκοις μάχαις τε λυγραῖς,
 λίσσοντο δὲ παῖδας Ἄβαντος
70 γᾶν πολύκριθον λαχόντας
-
- 1 Τίρυνθα τὸν ὀπλότερον
 κτίζειν, πρὶν ἐς ἀργαλέαν πεσεῖν ἀνάγκαν·
3 Ζεὺς τ' ἔθελεν Κρονίδας
 τιμῶν Δαναοῦ γενεὰν
75 καὶ διωξίπποιο Λυγκέος
6 παῦσαι στυγερῶν ἀχέων.
 τεῖχος δὲ Κύκλωπες κάμοῦν
 ἐλθόντες ὑπερφίαλοι κλεινᾷ π[όλ]ει
9 κάλλιστον, ἵν' ἀντίθεοι
80 ναῖον κλυτὸν ἵππόβοτον
 Ἄργος ἥρωες περικλειτοὶ λιπόντες,
12 ἔνθεν ἀπεσσύμεναι
 Προίτου κυανοπλόκαμοι
 φεῦγον ἄδματοι θύγατρες.
-
- Γ' 85 1 τὸν δ' εἶλεν ἄχος κραδίαν, ξεί-
 να τέ νιν πλᾶξεν μέριμνα·

- 3 δοίαξε δὲ φάσγανον ἄμ-
φακες ἐν στέρνοισι πᾶξαι.
- 90 5 ἀλλά νιν αἰχμοφόροι
μῦθοισί τε μειλιχίοις
καὶ βίᾳ χειρῶν κάτεχον.
- 8 τρισκαίδεκα μὲν τελέους
μῆνας κατὰ δάσκιον ἡλύκταζον ὕλαν
- 95 10 φεῦγόν τε κατ' Ἀρκαδίαν
μηλοτρόφον· ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ
12 Λοῦσον ποτὶ καλλιρόαν πατήρ ἴκανε,
ἔνθεν χροὰ νιψάμενος φοι-
νικοκ[ραδέμνο]!ο Λατοῦς
-
- col. 26 100 1 κίκλη[ισκε θύγατρ]α βοῶπιν,
χεῖρας ἀντείνων πρὸς αὐγὰς
- 3 ἵππώκεος ἀελίου,
τέκνα δυστάνοιο λύσσας
- 5 πάρφρονος ἐξαγαγεῖν·
“θύσω δέ τοι εἴκοσι βοῦς
105 ἄζυγας φοινικότριχας.”
- 8 τοῦ δ' ἔκλυ' ἀριστοπάτρα
θηροσκόπος εὐχομένου· πιθοῦσα δ' Ἥραν
- 10 παῦσεν καλυκοστεφάνους
κούρας μανιᾶν ἀθέων·
- 110 12 ταὶ δ' αὐτίκα οἱ τέμενος βωμόν τε τεῦχον,
χραῖνόν τέ μιν αἵματι μήλων
καὶ χοροὺς ἴσταν γυναικῶν.
-
- 1 ἔνθεν καὶ ἀρηϊφίλοις
ἄνδρεσσιν <ἐς> ἵππότροφον πόλιν Ἀχαιοῖς

94 ΚΑΤΑΚΑΡΔΙΑΝ: Palmer 98–99 Kenyon 106 om. A, add. A³ in margine
superiore 114 <ἐς> Jebb | de πόλιν cf. p. 13

- 115 3 ἔσπεο· σὺν δὲ τύχῃ
 ναίεις Μεταπόντιον, ὦ
 χρυσέα δέσποινα λαῶν·
 6 ἄλσος δέ τοι ἱμερόεν
 Κάσαν παρ' εὐνδρον ἥπρογο-
 120 νοι ἐσσάμενοι ἥ Πριάμοι' ἐπεὶ χρόνῳ
 9 βουλαῖσι θεῶν μακάρων
 πέρσαν πόλιν εὐκτιμέναν
 χαλκοθωράκων μετ' Ἀτρειδᾶν. δικαίας
 12 ὅστις ἔχει φρένας, εὐ-
 125 ρήσει σὺν ἅπαντι χρόνῳ
 μυρίας ἀλκὰς Ἀχαιῶν.

119 sq. Κάσᾱ παρ' εὐνδρ. πόρον ἥ ἔσσαν πρόγονοι Carey, Κάσαν παρ' εὐνδρον κτίσαν (Turyn) σταθμασάμενοι Maehler

15 = dith. 1

ΑΝΤΗΝΟΡΙΔΑΙ Η ΕΛΕΝΗΣ ΑΠΑΙΤΗΣΙΣ

metrum: dactyloepitr. A' – Γ'

ΣΤΡ	—υ—υ—υ—	— D
	—υ—υ—υ—υ—	— D ≈ e
	³ —υ—υ—υ—υ—	≈ e — D
	—υ—υ—υ—	— E
	⁵ —υ—υ—υ—υ—	E — e —
	—υ—υ—υ—υ—υ—	D — D
	⁷ —υ—υ—υ—υ—	E — e —
ΕΠ	—υ—υ—υ—υ—	— e — D
	² —υ—υ—υ—	— E —
	—υ—υ—υ—υ—	e — D
	⁴ —υ—υ—υ—	
	—υ—υ—υ—	
	—υ—υ—υ—	— D — E — D
	⁷ —υ—υ—υ—	— E —

col.1 A'	Ἀντή]γορος ἀντιθέου κεδνὰ πα]ράβοιτις Ἀθάνας πρόσπολος ³ ≈ —υ—] Παλλάδος ὀρσιμάχου —υ—υ— χ]ρυσέας ⁵ —υ—υ—υ—υ—]ν Ἀργείων Ὀδυσσεΐ Λαρτιάδαι Μενελ]άωι τ' Ἀτρεΐδαι βασιλεῖ ⁷ —υ—υ—υ—υ— βαθύ]ζωνος Θεανώ — —υ—υ—υ—υ—]ον —υ—υ—υ—υ— —]ν προσήνεπεν·
----------	---

15 7 ὥς ποτ' ἤντησεν β. Koerte

- 10 3 ---~----~ ξ] ὑκτιμέναν
 ---~----~]
 ---~----~] δων τυχόντες
 ---~ ---~ ---~]. σὺν †θεοῖς
 7 ---~ ----~ ----~ ---~] δους

 (deest epod.α')
- B' ---~ ---~ ---~]
 23 ---~ οὐ γὰρ ὑπόκλοπον φορεῖ
 βροτοῖσι φωνάεντα λόγον σοφία
 (desunt vv.XI)
- ΕΠ. B' 36 ---~ ----~ ---~ ---~]
 col.2 ἄγον, πατήρ δ' εὐβουλος ἦρως
 πάντα σάμαινεν Πριάμῳ βασιλεῖ
 4 παίδεσσί τε μῦθον Ἀχαιῶν.
 40 ἔνθα κάρυκες δι' εὐ-
 ρεῖαν πόλιν ὀρνύμενοι
 Τρώων ἀόλλιζον φάλαγγας
)—
- Γ' δεξίστρατον εἰς ἀγοράν.
 πάντῃ δὲ διέδραμεν αὐδάεις λόγος·
 45 3 θεοῖς δ' ἀνίσχοντες χέρας ἀθανάτοισ
 εὔχοντο παύσασθαι δυᾶν.
 Μοῦσα, τίς πρῶτος λόγων ἄρχεν δικαίων;
 Πλεισθενίδας Μενέλαος γάρυϊ θελξιεπεῖ
 7 φθέγξατ', εὐπέπλοισι κοινώσας Χάρισσιν·

- 50 “ὦ Τρῶες ἀρηΐφιλοι,
 Ζεὺς ὑψ[ιμέδων δ]ς ἅπαντα δέρκεται
 3 οὐκ αἴτιος θνατοῖς μεγάλων ἀχέων,
 ἀλλ' ἐν [μέσ]ῳ κείμεναι κίχιν
 πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις Δίκαν ἰθεῖαν, ἀγνᾶς

10 ξεῖνοι, τί δὴ Τροίαν ἐξ ἔ. e.g. Maehler 13]Σ vel]E: ἤλθ[ετ]ε σὺν <γε> θεοῖς
 Maehler 23-24 = fr. 26 Snell, hic inseruit Blass

- 55 Εὐνομίας ἀκόλουθον καὶ πινυτᾶς Θέμιτος·
 7 ὀλβίων π[αῖ]δές] νιν αἰρεῦνται σύνοικον.
 —
 ἅ δ' αἰόλοις κέρδεσσι καὶ ἀφροσύναις
 ἐξαισίοις θάλλουσ' ἀθαμβῆς
 3 Ὑβρις, ἃ πλοῦτ[ο]ν δύνανιν τε θόως
 60 ἀλλότριον ὥπασεν, αὔτις
 δ' ἐς βαθὺν πέμπει φθόρον·
 κε]ίνα καὶ ὑπερφιάλους
 Γᾶς] παῖδας ὤλεσσεν Γίγαντας.”

16 = dith. 2

[ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ (vel ΔΗΙΑΝΕΙΡΑ ?) ΕΙΣ ΔΕΛΦΟΥΣ]

metrum: dactyli

<i>ΣΤΡ</i>	1 — — — — —	$\wedge gl$
	— — — — — — —	$4da_{\wedge}$
3	— — — — — — — —	$5da_{\wedge}$
	υ? — — — — — — —	$2tr$
5	— — — — — — — — — —	$4da_{\wedge} ba$
	— — — — — — — — — —	$5da$
7	— — — — — — — — — —	$\sim 4da_{\wedge}$
	— — — — — — — — — —	$cho ia$
	— — — — —	$cr \sim sp$
10	— — — — —	$adon$
	— — — — —	$\sim cr sp$
	— — — — — — — — — — — —	$adon \wedge pher$
<i>ΕΠ</i>	1 — — — — — — —	
	— — — — — — — —	$6da$
3	— — — — — — — — — —	$\sim cho cr$
	— — — — — — — — — —	$\sim 5da_{\wedge}$
	— — — — — — — — — —	$\sim cr sp$
6	— — — — — — — — — — —	$\wedge gl - \sim - \sim -$
	— — — — — — — — — — —	$\sim 3da \sim -$

62–63 suppl. Kenyon

8 ~~~~~ ^gl
 ~~~~~  
 ~~~~~ | 6da |  
 11 ~~~~~ | ~~~~~ ||| adon | ^gl |||

...]ιου . ιο ... ἔπει
 ὅλκ] ἄδ' ἔπεμψεν ἑμοὶ χρῦσέαν
 Πιερ] ἰαθεν ἐ[ῦθ] ρογ'ος [Ο] ὑρανία,
 πολυφ] ἄτων γέμουσαν ὕμνων
 5] νειτ]ις ἐπ' ἀνθεμόεντι Ἑβρωνί
 ἄ] γάλλεται ἡ δολιχάχυνεν κύ[κνωι
] δεῖα[[ν¹]] φρένα τερπόμενος
] δ' ἴκηι πατηόνων
 col.3 ἄνθεα πεδοιχνεῖν,
 10 Πύθι' Ἀπολλων.
 τόσα χοροὶ Δελφῶν
 σὸν κελάδησαν παρ' ἀγκαλέα ναόν.
 —
 1 πρίν γε κλέομεν λιπεῖν
 Οἰχαλίαν πυρὶ δαπτομένην
 15 3 Ἀμφιτρύωνιάδαν θρασυμηδέα φῶ—
 θ', ἴκετο δ' ἀμφικύμον' ἄκτάν·
 5 ἔνθ' ἀπὸ λαΐδος εὐρυνεφεῖ Κηναίωι
 Ζηνὶ θύεν βαρυαχέας ἐννέα ταύρους
 7 δύο τ' ὀρσιάλωι δαμασίχθονι μέ[λ-
 20 λε ἰκόρῃ τ' ἰ ὀβριμοδερεκεῖ <δ'> ἄζυγα
 παρθένωι Ἀθάνῃ
 10 ὑψικέραν βοῦν.
 τότ' ἄμαχος δαίμων
 Δαΐανειρῃ πολὺδακρυν ὕφα[νε

16 5]N vel]Al: ἐς θεῶ]ν Jebb, εὔχομ]αι D. A. Schmidt 7 μελῖα]δε<ῖ> D. A. Schmidt, ἰαί Kuiper 8 πρίν τό]δ' ἴκηι Maehler 19-20 μέ[λ]λ', ὀβριμοδε-
 ρεκεῖ <δ'> ἄζυγα Maas, Barrett (κόραι τ' del. Maas)

- 25 ¹ μῆτιν ἐπίφρον' ἐπεὶ
 πύθετ' ἀγγελίαν ταλαπενθέα,
³ ἴολαν ὅτι λευκώλενον
 Διὸς υἱὸς ἀταρβομάχας
 ἄλοχον λιπαρὸ[ν] ποτὶ δόμον πέμ[πι]οι.
 30 ⁶ ἄ δύσμορος, ἄ τάλα[αι]ν', οἷον ἐμήσατ[ο]
 φθόνος εὐρυβίης νιν ἀπώλεσεν,
⁸ δνόφεόν τε κάλυμμα τῶν
 ὕστερον ἐρχομένων,
 ὅτ' ἐπὶ ῥοδόεντι Λυκόρμαϊ
 35 ¹¹ δέξατο Νέσσου πάρα δαιμόνιον τέρ[ας].

17 = dith. 3**ΗΙΘΕΟΙ Η ΘΗΣΕΥΣ <ΚΗΙΟΙΣ ΕΙΣ ΔΗΛΟΝ>**

metrum e iambis ortum (v. p. 17)

ΣΤΡ

¹ — — — — — — — —
 — — — — — — — — | — — —
 — — — — — ||?
⁴ — — — — — — — ||
⁵ — — — — — — — —
 — — — — — — — —
 — — — — — — — — |
⁸ — — — — — — — —
 — — — — — — — — |
¹⁰ — — — — — — — —
 — — — — — — — —
 (—) — — — — — — — —
¹³ — — — — — — — —
 — — — — — — — —
 — — — — — — — — |
¹⁶ — — — — — — — —
 (—) — — — — — — — —

ΕΠ

¹ — — — — — — — — |
² — — — — — — — — |
³ — — — — — — — — |
⁴ — — — — — — — — — — — — — — |
⁵ — — — — — — — — |
⁶ — — — — — — — — |
⁷ — — — — — — — — ||
⁸ — — — — — — — — — — — — — — |
⁹ — — — — — — — — |
¹⁰ — — — — — — — — |
¹¹ — — — — — — — —
 — — — — — — — — — — — — — —
 — — — — — — — —
 — — — — — — — — ||
¹⁵ — — — — — — — —
 — — — — — — — — |
¹⁷ — — — — — — — — — — — — — — |

34 ΕΠΙ ΠΟΤΑΜΩ[Ι] ΡΟΔ.: ποταμῶι del. Ludwig, Wilamowitz

18 — — — — —

— — — — —

20 — — — — — ||

21 — — — — —

— — — — —

23 — — — — — |||

18 — — — — —

— — — — —

20 — — — — — |||

- A' Κυανόπρωιρα μὲν ναῦς μενέκτυ[πον
 Θησέα δις ἐπτι[ά] τ' ἄγλαοὺς ἄγουσα
 κούρους Ἰαόνω[ν
 Κρητικὸν τάμνε πέλαγος·
- 5 τηλαυγεί γὰρ [ἐν] φάρει
 βορήϊαι πίτνο[ν] αὔραι
 κλυτὰς ἑκατι π[ε]λεμαίγιδος Ἀθάν[ας·
- col. 4 κνίσεν δὲ Μίνω<ι> κέαρ
 ἡμεράμπυκος θεᾶς
- 10 Κύπριδος [ά]γνὰ δῶρα·
 χεῖρα δ' οὐ[κέτι] παρθενικᾶς
 ἄτερθ' ἐράτ[ην]εν, θίγεν
 δὲ λευκᾶν παρηΐδων·
 βόασέ τ' Ἑρίβοια χαλκο-
- 15 θώρα[κα Π]ανδίωνος
 ἔκγ[ο]νον· ἴδεν δὲ Θησεύς,
 μέλαν δ' ὑπ' ὀφρύων
 δίνα[σ]εν ὄμμα, καρδίαν τέ οἱ
 σχέτλιον ἄμυξεν ἄλγος,
- 20 εἶρ' ἐν τε· "Διὸς υἱὲ φερτάτου,
 ὅσιον οὐκέτι τεᾶν
 ἔσω κυβερναῖς φρενῶν
 θυμ[όν]· ἴσχε μεγάλαυχον ἥρωσ βίαν.
-
- 1 ὅ τι μ[ε]ν ἐκ θεῶν μοῖρα παγκρατῆς
 25 ἄμμι κατένευσε καὶ Δίκας ῥέπει τά-
 λαντον, πεπρωμέν[α]ν

- 4 αἶσαν [ἐ]κπλήσομεν, ὅτ[α]ν
 5 ἔλθῃ· [σ]ὺ δὲ βαρεῖαν κάτε-
 χε μῆτιν. εἰ καὶ σε κεδνὰ
 30 τέκεν λέχει Διὸς ὑπὸ κρόταφον Ἰδας
 8 μιγεῖσα Φοίνικος ἔρα-
 τώνυμος κόρα βροτῶν
 10 φέρτατον, ἀλλὰ κάμῃ
 Πιτθ[ἐ]ος θυγάτηρ ἄφνεοῦ
 35 πλαθεῖσα ποντίῳ τέκεν
 13 Ποσειδᾶνι, χρυσεόν
 τέ οἱ δόσαν ἰόπλοκοι
 ἱκαλυμμαῖ Νηρηΐδες.
 16 τῷ σε, πολέμαρχε Κνωσίων,
 40 κέλομαι πολύστονον
 18 ἐρύκεν ὕβριν· οὐ γὰρ ἂν θέλοι-
 μ' ἀμβρότοι' ἔραννόν Ἀο[ῦς]
 20 ἰδεῖν φάος, ἐπεὶ τιν' ἠϊθέ[ων]
 21 σὺ δαμάσειας ἄεον-
 45 τα· πρόσθε χειρῶν βίαν
 23 δε[ί]ξομεν· τὰ δ' ἐπιόντα δα[ί]μων κρινεῖ.”
 —
 1 τόσ' εἶπεν ἀρέταιχος ἥρως·
 2 τὰ]φον δὲ ναυβάται
 3 φ]ωτὸς ὑπεράφανον
 50 4 θ]άρσος· Ἀλίου τε γαμβρῶι χόλωσεν ἦτορ,
 5 ὕφαινε τε ποταινίαν
 6 μῆτιν, εἶπέν τε· “μεγαλοσθενές
 7 Ζεῦ πάτερ, ἄκουσον· εἰ πέρ με νύμ[φ]α
 8 Φοίνισσα λευκώλενος σοὶ τέκεν,
 55 9 νῦν πρόπεμπ' ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ θεάαν
 10 πυριέθειραν ἀστραπάν
 11 σᾶμ' ἀρίγνωτον· εἰ
 δὲ καὶ σὲ Τροίηνία σεισίχθονι
 φύτευσεν Αἴθρα Ποσει-

38 ΚΑΛΥΜΜΑ NHP: κάλυμμ' ᾗ<δου> Ludwich; estne κάλ. glossema?

- 60 δᾶνι, τόνδε χρύσειον
¹⁵ χειρὸς ἀγλαὸν
 ἔνεγκε κόσμον ἐκ βαθείας ἁλός,
¹⁷ δικῶν θράσει σῶμα πατρὸς ἐς δόμους.
¹⁸ εἴσεαι δ' αἶκ' ἐμᾶς κλύηι
- 65 Κρόνιος εὐχᾶς
²⁰ ἀναξιβρέντας ὁ πάντων[ν με]δ[έω]ν.”
)—
- B' ¹ κλύε δ' ἄμεμπτον εὐχὰν μεγασθενή[ς]
 Ζεὺς, ὑπέροχόν τε Μίνωϊ φύτευσε
 τιμὰν φίλῳ θέλων
- 70 ⁴ παιδὶ πανδερκέα θέμεν,
⁵ ἄστραφέ θ' ὁ δὲ θυμαρμένον
 ἰδὼν τέρας χεῖρα πέτασε
 κλυτὰν ἐς αἰθέρα μενεπτόλεμος ἥρωσ
⁸ εἰρέν τε· “Θησεῦ, τάδε μὲν
 ἴβλεπεις ἰσαφῇ Διός
- 75 ¹⁰ δῶρα· σὺ δ' ὄρνυ' ἐς βα-
 ρύβρομον πέλαγος· Κρονί[δας]
 δέ τοι πατήρ ἄναξ τελεῖ
- col. 6 ¹³ Ποσειδὰν ὑπέρτατον
⁸⁰ κλέος χθόνα κατ' ἡϋδενδρον.”
 ὥς εἶπε· τῷ δ' οὐ πάλιν
¹⁶ θυμὸς ἀνεκάμπτετ', ἀλλ' εὐ-
 πάκτων ἐπ' ἱκρίων
¹⁸ σταθεῖς ὄρουσε, πόντιόν τέ νιν
- 85 δέξατο θελημὸν ἄλσος.
²⁰ τάφεν δὲ Διὸς υἱὸς ἔνδοθεν
²¹ κέαρ, κέλευσέ τε κατ' οὐ-
 ρον ἴσχευεν εὐδαίδαλον
²³ νῆα· μοῖρα δ' ἑτέραν ἐπόρσυν' ὁδόν.

70 ΠΑΝΔΕΡΚΕΑ Α, ΠΑΝΤΑΡΚΕΑ Ο 72 ΧΕΙΡΑΣ ΠΕΤΑΣΣΕ Α, ΧΕΙΡΑ[ΣΣ]
 ΠΙΕΤ[Ο 75 ΒΛΕΠΕΙ Ο, ΒΛΕΠΕΙΣ Α: βλέπεις glossema esse (pro ἔδρακες ?)
 videtur 87-88 ΚΑΤΟΥ : ΠΟΝ Α, i.e. κατ' οὖρον

- 90 1 ἴετο δ' ὠκύπομπον δόρου· ὁῶι
 νιν βορεᾶς ἐξόπιν πνέουσ' ἀήτα·
 τρέσσαν δ' Ἀθανᾶϊων
 4 ἡϊθέων <—> γένος, ἐπεὶ
 5 ἥρως θόρεν πόντονδε, κα-
 95 τὰ λειρίων τ' ὁμμάτων δά-
 κρυ χέον, βαρεῖαν ἐπιδέγμενοι ἀνάγκαν.
 8 φέρον δὲ δελφῖνες {εν} ἄλι-
 ναιέται μέγαν θοῶς
 10 Θησέα πατρός ἱππί-
 100 ου δόμον· ἔμολέν τε θεῶν
 μέγαρον· τόθι κλυτὰς ἰδῶν
 13 ἔδεισ' ὀλβίοιο Νη-
 ρέος κόρας· ἀπὸ γὰρ ἀγλα-
 ῶν λάμπε γυίων σέλας
 105 16 ὥτε πυρός, ἀμφὶ χαίταις
 δὲ χρυσεόπλοκοι
 18 δίνηντο ταινίαι· χορῶι δ' ἕτερ-
 πον κέαρ ὕχροϊσι ποσσίν.
 20 εἶδέν τε πατρός ἄλοχον φίλαν
 110 21 σεμνὰν βοῶπιν ἐρατοῖ-
 σιν Ἀμφιτρίταν δόμοις·
 23 ἃ νιν ἀμφέβαλεν αἰόνα πορφυρέαν,
 —
 1 κόμαισί τ' ἐπέθηκεν οὖλαις
 col. 7 2 ἀμεμφέα πλόκον,
 115 3 τόν ποτέ οἱ ἐν γάμῳ
 4 δῶκε δόλιος Ἀφροδίτα ῥόδοις ἐρεμνόν.
 5 ἄπιστον ὃ τι δαίμονες
 6 θέωσιν οὐδὲν φρενοάραις βροτοῖς·
 7 νᾶα πάρα λεπτόπρυμνον φάνη· φεῦ,
 120 8 οἴαισιν ἐν φροντίσι Κνώσιον
 9 ἔσχασεν στραταγέταν, ἐπεὶ

97 ἘΝἈΛΙ: Palmer 102 ΕΔΕΙΞΕ ΝΗΡΕΟΣ ΟΛΒΙΟΥ ΚΟΡΑΣ Α: Ludwig,
 Richards 108 –ΟΙΣΙΝ ΕΝ ΠΟΣΙΝ: Kenyon 118 ΘΕΛΩΣΙΝ: Crusius

- 10 σέουντ' ἀγέλας βίαι;
 ἦ τί τοι κραδίαν ἀμύσσει;
 φθέγγευ· δοκέω γὰρ εἶ τιτι βροτῶν
 ἀλκίμων ἐπικουρίαν
 καὶ τὴν ἔμμεναι νέων,
 15 ὦ Πανδίωνος υἱὲ καὶ Κρεούσας.

- B' <ΑΙΓΕΥΣ> 1 Νέον ἦλθε<ν> δολιχὰν ἀμείψας
 col.8 κᾶρυξ ποσὶν Ἰσθμίαν κέλευθον·
 3 ἄφατα δ' ἔργα λέγει κραταιοῦ
 φωτός· τὸν ὑπέρβιον τ' ἔπεφεν
 20 5 Σίνιν, ὃς ἰσχύϊ φέρτατος
 θνατῶν ἦν, Κρονίδα Λυταίου
 σεισίχθονος τέκος·
 8 σὺν τ' ἀνδροκτόνον ἐν νάπαις
 9 Κρεμ<μ>υῶνος ἀτάσθαλόν τε
 25 Σκίρωνα κατέκτανεν·
 11 τάν τε Κερκυόνης παλαιίστραν
 ἔσχεν, Πολυπήμονός τε καρτεράν
 13 σφῦραν ἐξέβαλεν Προκό-
 πτας, ἀρείονος τυχών
 30 15 φωτός. ταῦτα δέδοιχ' ὅπῃ τελεῖται.

- Γ' <ΧΟ.> 1 Τίνα δ' ἔμμεν πόθεν ἄνδρα τοῦτον
 λέγει, τίνα τε στολὰν ἔχοντα;
 3 πότερα σὺν πολεμηῖοις ὁ-
 πλοισι στρατιὰν ἄγοντα πολλάν;
 35 5 ἦ μοῦνον σὺν ὁπάοσιν
 στ<ε>ίχειν ἔμπορον οἷ' ἀλάταν
 ἐπ' ἄλλοδαμίαν,
 8 ἰσχυρόν τε καὶ ἄλκιμον
 9 ὦδε καὶ θρασύν, ὃς τ<οσ>ούτων

18 9 Δ' ΕΚΑΤΙ: Palmer 35 ΟΠΛΟΙΣΙΝ: Weil 39 ΤΟΥΤΩΝ: <ΤΕ>
 τούτων Palmer, τ<οσ>ούτων Platt, τ<οι>ούτων Kenyon

- 40 ἀνδρῶν κρατερὸν σθένος
 11 ἔσχεν; ἧ θεὸς αὐτὸν ὀρμαῖ,
 δίκας ἀδίκοισιν ὄφρα μήσεται·
 13 οὐ γὰρ ῥαίδιον αἶεν ἔρ-
 δοντα μὴ ἵτυχεῖν κακῶι.
- 45 15 πᾶντ' ἐν τῷ δολιχῶι χρόνῳι τελεῖται.
-
- Δ' <ΑΙΓ.> 1 Δύο οἱ φῶτε μόνους ἀμαρτεῖν
 λέγει, περὶ φαιδίμοισι δ' ὥμοις
 3 ξίφος ἔχειν <ἐλεφαντόκωπον>,
 ξεστοὺς δὲ δύ' ἐν χέρεσσ' ἄκοντας
- col.9 50 5 κηῦτυκτον κυνέαν Λάκαι-
 ναν κρατὸς πέρι πυρσοχαίτου·
 χιτῶνα πορφύρεον
 8 στέρνοις τ' ἀμφί, καὶ οὐλῖον
 9 Θεσσαλὰν χλαμύδ' ὀμμάτων δὲ
 55 στίλβειν ἄπο Λαμνίαν
 11 φοίνισσαν φλόγα· παῖδα δ' ἔμ<μ>εν
 πρῶθηβον, ἄρηϊων δ' ἀθυρμάτων
 13 μεμνᾶσθαι πολέμου τε καὶ
 χαλκεοκτύπου μάχας·
- 60 15 δίζησθαι δὲ φιλαγλάους Ἀθάνας.

19 = **dith. 5**

ΙΩ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΙΣ

metrum: v. pp. 15–16

| | | | | | |
|-----|---|-----------------|----|---|-------------|
| ΣΤΡ | 1 | ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ | ΕΠ | 1 | ~ ~ ~ ~ |
| | | ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ | | | ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ [|
| | 3 | ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ | | | ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ [|
| | | ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ | | 4 | ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ [|

48 suppl. Desrousseaux
 suppl. A³

51 ὕΠΕΡ: Blass

60 Δ *vacat* ΦΙΛ. Α, ΙΖΗΣΘΑΙ ΔΕ

εὐρυσθενέος φραδαῖσι φερτάτου Διός,
Ἰνάχου ῥοδοδάκτυλος κόρα,

-
- 1 <τ>ότ' Ἄργον ὄμμασι βλέποντα
20 πάντοθεν ἀκαμάτοις
3 μεγιστοάνασσα κέλευσε
χρυσόπεπλος Ἥρα
5 ἄκοιτον ἄϋπνον ἐόν-
τα καλλικέραν δάμαλιν
25 φυλάσσειν· οὐδὲ Μαίας
8 υἱὸς δύναντ' οὔτε κατ' εὐ-
φεγγέας ἀμέρας λαθεῖν νιν
col.10 οὔτε νύκτας ἀγν[άς].
11 εἴτ' οὖν γένετ' ἐ[~ ~ ~ ~
30 ποδαρκέ' ἄγγελον Διός
13 κτανεῖν τότε [Γᾶς ~ ~ ~
ὄβριμοσπόρου λ[ίθωι
15 Ἄργον· ἧ ῥα καὶ ο[~ ~ ~ ~
ἀσπετοι μέριμν[αι·
35 17 ἧ Πιερίδες φύτευ[σαν ~ ~ ~ ~
καδέων ἀνάπαυσ[ιν ~ ~ ~
—
1 ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν
ἀσφαλέστατον ἄ προ[
ἐπεὶ παρ' ἀνθεμῶ[δεα
40 4 Νεῖλον ἀφίκετ' ο[ἰστροπλάξ
Ἰὼ φέρουσα παῖδ[α . . .
Ἔπαφον· ἔνθα νι[ν
7 λινοστόλων πρύτ[ανιν . . .
ὑπερόχωι βρύοντ[α τιμαῖ
45 μεγίσταν τε θνατ[. . .

19 OT: Kenyon 31 Γᾶς Jebb, τέκος αἰνόν Snell 32 λ[ίθωι Deubner
35 ἀδύμωι μέλει Jebb 36 ἀνάπαυσ[ιν ἐσχάταν e.g. Maehler 38 ἌΠΡΟ[
(vel Ε[): ἄ πρέ[πει λέγειν e.g. Maehler 40 ο[ἰστροπλάξ Blass, Festa
44 Blass 45 θνατ[ῶν ἔφανεν γενέθλαν Jebb

¹⁰ ὄθεν καὶ Ἀγανορί[δας
 ἐν ἑπταπύλοισ[ι Θήβαις
 Κάδμος Σεμέλ[αν φύτευσεν,
¹³ ἃ τὸν ὀρσιβάκχα[ν
 50 τίκτε<ν> Διόνυσον [ἀγλαῶν ἀγώνων
 καὶ χορῶν στεφαν[αφόρων ἄνακτα.

20 = dith. 6

ΙΔΑΣ ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΙΣ

metrum: dactyloepitri.

Σπάρτῃ ποτ' ἐν ἐ[ὺρυχόρῳ
 ξανθαὶ Λακεδα[ιμονίων
 τοιόνδε μέλος κ[ελάδησαν παρθένοι,
 ὅτ' ἄγετο καλλιπάρ[ρῃον
 5 κόραν θρασυκάρδ[ριος Ἰδας
 Μάρπησσαν ἰότ[ριχα νύμφαν
 φυγῶν θανάτου τ[. . .
 ἀναξίαλος Ποσ<ε>ι[δᾶν . . .
 ? —
 ἵππους τέ οἱ ἴσαν[έμους
 10 Πλευρῶν' ἐς ἐϋκτ[ιμέναν
 χρυσάσπιδος υἰδ[ν Ἄρης
 (desunt reliqua)

47–48 Jebb 50 West, ἀγλαῶν τε κώμων Jurenka 51 Wilamowitz
 20 1 Rossbach, Platt 2 Wilamowitz 3 κ[ελάδησαν Maas 4 Blass,
 Platt 5 Kenyon 6 ἰότ[ριχα Jebb 9–10 Kenyon 11 Sandys,
 Reinach

fr. 22 + fr. 4

[ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ ΠΥΘΑΙΕΙ ΕΙΣ ΑΣΙΝΗΝ]

metrum: dactyloepitr.

ΣΤΡ

| | | |
|-----|------|------|
| --- | ---- | |
| --- | ---- | |
| 3 | --- | E-D |
| | --- | E-e |
| | --- | D- |
| | --- | E-e |
| 6 | --- | E- |
| | --- | D |
| | --- | -E |
| 9 | --- | D-e- |
| | --- | E- |

ΕΠ

| | | |
|---|-----|---------|
| | --- | |
| | --- | |
| 3 | --- | D-e-D |
| | --- | D |
| | --- | -E-e- |
| | --- | E- |
| 6 | --- | |
| | --- | D-E[-] |
| | [-] | [-] D [|
| 9 | [-] | [-] D [|
| | [-] | [-] E [|

A'?

(desunt strophæ et antistrophæ = vv.1-20)

(Ἡρακλῆς) ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν Κήρυκος οἶκον,

21 ΣΤ᾽ δ' ἐπὶ λάϊνον οὐ-

δόν, τοὶ δὲ θοίνας ἔντυον, ὧδέ τ' ἔφα'

3 ἄντοματοι δ' ἀγαθῶν

<ἐς> δαίτας εὐόχθους ἐπέρχονται δίκαιοι

22+4 21-25 Athen. 5.178b (= fr.22)

21 ἔσση: Barrett

22 ἔντυον: Neue |

ἔφασ': Neue

24 <ἐς> Barrett

- 25 φῶτες.’’ ---v---
 (desunt epodi versus 6–10,
 incertum an desit trias tota,
 B’? desunt strophae versus 1–8)
 9 ---vvv]τα Πυθω[---
 40 ---v---]ε! τελευτ[---
 —
 (.)]κέλευσεν Φοῖβος [Ἄλ-
 κμήνας] πολεμαίνετον υ[ῖόν
 3 στέλλεν] ἐκ ναοῦ τε καὶ παρ[---v---
 ἀλλ’ ὁ γε τᾷ<1>ιδ’ ἐνὶ χώρᾱ<1>
 45 (.)]χισεν ταν φυλλο.[
 6 (.) στ]ρέψας ἐλαίας
 (.)]φ’ Ἀσινεῖς
 (.)]λεσσ’ ἐν δὲ χρόν[ωι
 9 (.)]ες ἐξ αλικων τε.[---v---
 50 μάντι]ς ἐξ Ἄργευσ Μελάμ[πους
 —
 ἦλ]θ’ Ἀμυθαονίδας
 βω]μόν τε Πυθα<1>εῖ κτίσε[---vv---
 3 καὶ] τέμενος ζάθεον
 τοί]ας ἀπὸ ρίζας τόδε χρ[---vv---
 55 ἐξό]χως τίμασ’ Ἀπόλλων
 6 ἄλσο]ς, ἵν’ ἀγλαῖαι
 τ’ ἀνθ]εῦσι καὶ μολπαὶ λίγ[ειαι
 (.)]ονες, ᾧ ἄνα, τ. .[
 9 (.)]τι σὺ δ’ ὀλ[β
 60 (.)]αιοισιν
)——

39–70 pap. T 41 κείνους] Barrett, πάντας] Snell, ὡς τοὺς] Maehler 41–
 42 Barrett 42 υ[ῖόν Edmonds 43 Παρ[νασσίας vel παρ’ [ὀμφαλοῦ Barrett
 44 Snell 46 Barrett 47 ἡδ’ ἐτέως Snell 47–48 σ]φ’ Ἀσινεῖς [εὐντας
 κά]λεσσ’ Lobel 50 Snell 51 Edmonds 52 βω]μόν Blass 53 Blass
 54 τοί]ας Snell | χρ[ησιμωιδόν Barrett αὐξων Maehler 55 ἐξό]χως Blass 56
 Snell 57 in. Barrett | fin. Blass 59 ὀλ[βον ὀπάζοις Snell

Γ' ?

τίκτει δέ τε] θνατ]οῖσιν εἰ-
 ρηνα μεγαλ]άνορα |πλoῦτον
 3 καὶ μελιγλῶ]σσων ἀ]οιδᾶν ἄνθεα
 δαιδαλέων τ'] ἐπὶ βω |μῶν
 65 θεοῖσιν αἴθε]σθαι βο]ῶν ξανθᾷ φλογί
 6 μηρὶ' εὐ]μάλ]λων τε |μήλων
 γυμνασίω]ν τε νέοι]ς
 αὐλῶν τε καὶ] κώμω]ν μέλιν.
 9 ἐν δὲ σιδαρο]δέτοις |πόρπαξιν αἰθᾶν
 70 ἄρᾱχνᾶν ἴστ]οὶ πέλ |ονται,
 ———
 ἔγχεα τε λογχωτὰ ξίφεα
 τ' ἀμφάκεα δάμναται εὐρώς.

3 <~-----~ -
 ~~~~~>

75 χαλκεᾶν δ' οὐκ ἔστι σαλπίγγων κτύπος,  
 6 οὐδὲ συλᾶται μελίφρων  
 ὕπνος ἀπὸ βλεφάρων  
 ἄωιος δὲ θάλλει κέαρ.  
 9 συμποσίων δ' ἐρατῶν βρίθοντ' ἄγυιαί,  
 80 παιδικοί θ' ὕμνοι φλέγονται.  
 (deest epodus: versus 81–90)

61–80 Stob.*Flor.* 4.14.3 (= fr.4)Plut. *Nim.* 20.6

Stob.: Blass

66 μηρίταν εὐτρίχων Stob.: Barrett

75 χαλκέων δ' οὐκέτι Stob.: οὐκ ἔστι Plut.

69–77

78 ἄμος (ἄμος)

fr. 11 + fr. 12

metrum: aeolicum

|                         |                          |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| — — — — — — — — — — —   | 2 <i>tr gl</i>           |
| — — — — — — — — — — —   | <i>gl cho</i>            |
| — — — — — — — — — — —   | 2 <i>gl</i>              |
| 5 — — — — — — — — — — — | 3 <i>cr sp</i> ?         |
| — — — — — — — — — — —   | <sup>^</sup> <i>gl</i> ? |
| — — — — — — — — — — —   | <i>gl</i>                |

- (11) εἷς ὄρος, μία βροτοῖσιν ἔστιν εὐτυχίας ὁδός,  
 θυμὸν εἴ τις ἔχων ἀπενθῇ δύναται  
 3 διατελεῖν βίον· ὃς δὲ μυ-  
 ρία μὲν ἀμφιπολεῖ φρενί,  
 5 τὸ δὲ παρ' ἁμάρ τε <καὶ> νύκτα μελλόντων  
 6 χάριν αἰὲν ἰάπτεται  
 κέαρ, ἄκαρπον ἔχει πόνον.
- . . . . .
- (12) 3 τί γὰρ ἐλαφρόν ἐτ' ἔστιν ἄ-  
 πρακτ' ὀδυρόμενον δονεῖν  
 καρδίαν;

metrum: glyconeï et ionicï (v. p. 16)

Ion Ion

~~~~~ *anacl*

$$3 \quad \left| \begin{array}{cc} \text{---} & \text{---} \\ \text{---} & \text{---} \end{array} \right| \quad \left| \begin{array}{cc} \text{ion} & \text{ion}_{\wedge} \end{array} \right|$$

4 — — — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ~~κ~~ — ∪ — *gl ia* |

5 — — — — — gl

-----|| *glia* ||

A'p uu — uu —

A'p u u — — u u — —

— — — — —

2 ♀ ♀ — — ♀ ♀ —

κ]αθημένη

5] . 0 [.] . . [~] μ α ς

— — —] καὶ ὑπέρ[μορ' ἄχθε]ται πατρί,

 $\langle - \rangle$

col.2? B' ? ἰκ[ε]τεύει δὲ καμ[— —]

col.2? B'? ἰκ[ε]τεύει δὲ καμ[— —

χ[θ]ονίας τάλαι[ν' Ἀράς] ὁ-

Ξ[ύ]περόν νιν τελ[έ]σαι

10 γῆρας καὶ κατάρατ[ον]ν

μούνην ἔνδον ἔχω[ν ~ —

λε]υκαὶ δ' ἐν [κ]εφαλ[ῆι τ]ρίχες.

 $\langle - \rangle$

Γ' Ἄρ[εος γρυσιλόφου παῖ]-

Γ' Ἄρ]εος χρυσολόφου παῖ[-

δα] λέγουσι χαλκ{ε}ομίτραν

15 τα]νυπέπλοιο κόρης

Εὐ[ε]ανὸ[ν] θρασύχειρα καὶ μαι[φόνου]ν

Μ|αρπήσσης καλυκώπιδος

τοι]οῦτον πατέρ' ἔμμεν'· ἀλλὰ γ[ιν] χρόνος

 $\langle - \rangle$

20A 5 δέ[μας Snell 6 Snell 7 κα[μόντων vel κα[λοῦσα Maas, κα[μοῦσα Snell 8-9 Maas 13 Ἄρ]εος Snell 13-14 Maas, Snell 15-16 Hunt

20A 5 δέ[ι]μας Snell 6 Snell 7 κα[μόντων vel κα[λοῦσα Maas, κα[μοῦσα

20A 5 δέ]μας Snell 6 Snell 7 κα[μόντων vel κα[λοῦσα Maas, κα[μοῦσα

Snell **8-9** Maas **13** Ἄρ | εος Snell **13-14** Maas, Snell **15-16** Hunt

Snell **8-9** Maas **13** Ἄρ | εος Snell **13-14** Maas, Snell **15-16** Hunt

- Δ' ἐδά]μασσε κρατερὰ τ' ἐκ-
 20 δόμεν ο]ὐ θέλοντ' ἀνάγκη.
 ~ ~ ~ ~]ελίου
 ~ ~ ~ ~]εν Ποσειδαωνίας
 ἵππους ὠκυδρόμ]ας ἐλαύ-
 νων Ἰδας Ἀφάρ]ητος ὄλβιον τέκος.
 <—>
 Ε' 25 ἐθέλουσαν δ]ὲ κόρην ἦρ-
 πασεν εὐέθει]ραν ἦρως
 (sequuntur xxvi versuum fragmenta)

fr. 20B

col.5? [ΑΛΕΞΑ]Ν[ΔΡΩΙ ΑΜΥΝΤ]Α

metrum: dactyloepitr.

| | |
|-----------------------------------|-----------|
| — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — | — D = e — |
| — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — | D = e — |
| 3 — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — | D = e — |
| — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — | E — e |

- Α' ᾧ βάρβιτε, μηκέτι πάσσαλον φυλάσ[σων
 ἐπτάτονον λ[1]γυρὰν κάππαυε γᾶρυν
 δεῦρ' ἐς ἐμὰς χέρας· ὀρμαίνω τι πέμπ[ειν
 χρύσειον Μουσᾶν Ἀλεξάνδρῳι πτερόν
 <—>

- Β' 5 καὶ συμποσ[ίαι]σιν ἄγαλμ' [ἐν] εἰκάδεσ[σιν],
 εὔτε νέων ἄ[παλὸν]] γλύκει' ἀ[νάγκ]α
 σευομενᾶν κ[υ]λικῶν θάλπη]σι θυμ[ί]ον
 Κύπριδός τ' ἐλπ[ι]ς δ<1>αιθύσσει φρέ[ι]νας,
 <—>

19 ἐδά]μασσε Hunt 19–20 ἐκ[δόμεν Maehler 22 τέλλοντος
 πέλασ]εν Snell 23–24 ἵππους ὠκυδρόμ]ας ἐλαύ[νων Snell Ἰδας
 Ἀφάρ]ητος Maas 25 Maas 26 ἦρ[πασε Hunt εὐέθει]ραν Maas
 20B 6–16 Athen. *Epit.* 2.39e–f 6 Maas 8 οἰθύσσει Athen.: Blass

- 5 ἰμ]ερόεν τελέσας
κα]ἰ συμπτώταις ἄνδρεσσι π[έμπειν
<—>
- B' Αἰ]τναν ἐς ἐϋκτιτον εἰ κ[αὶ
πρ]όσθεν ὑμνήσας τὸν [ἐν Κίρρῃ θ' ἐλόντα
πο]σσὶ λαιψ[η]ρῶ[ι]ς Φερ[ένικον ἐπ' Ἄλ-
10 φ[ε]ῶι τε ν[ί]καν
ἀν[δ]ρ[ι] χ]αριζόμενος
εἰ [.] εανερ[— ~ —
<—>
- Γ' . '[. . . σὺν] ἐμοὶ τότε κοῦραί[
τ' ἡ]θεοί θ] ὅσσοι Διὸς πάγχρ[υσον ἄλσος
15 πᾶν βρύειν κώ]μο[ι]ς τ]ῆθεσαν μ[~ ~ —
.] ερειπ[ε]
ὅστι]ς ἐπιχθονίων
. . .] ω τὸ μὴ δειλῶι . υναι[—
<—>
- Δ' τέχν]αι γε μέν εἰσ[ι]ν ἄπρα[σαι
20 μυρία]ι· σὺν θεῶι δὲ θ[α]ρσή[σας πιφάύσκω·
οὔτι]ν' ἀνθρώπων ξ[τερον καθορᾷ
λε[ύκι]ππος Ἄως
τόσσ[ο]ν ἐφ' ἀλικία[ι
24 φέγγος κατ' ἀνθρώπ[ους φέρουσα
<—>
(sequuntur xiv versuum fragmenta)

8 [ἐν Κίρρῃ Barrett, θ' ἐλόντα Snell 13–15 Snell 17 Maas 19 Εἰς [] N vel
Εἰς N possis 20 Maas 21 οὔτι]ν' H. Fränkel, ξ[τερον καθορᾷ Schadewaldt
24 Snell, κατ' ἀνθρώπ[ων χέοντα Maas

COMMENTARY

VICTORY ODES

ODE 3: FOR HIERON OF SYRACUSE

1. *Hieron's chariot victory at Olympia*

The date is given by the *hypothesis* to Pindar's *First Olympian* (*Scholia* 1 p.16 Drachmann) as the 78th Olympiad = 468 BCE. After Hieron's death in the following year, his son, Deinomenes, dedicated a splendid monument consisting of a bronze four-horse chariot with charioteer, a work of the sculptor Onatas of Aegina, and of racehorses with jockeys on either side of it, made by the sculptor Kalamis (Paus. 8.42.9); the dedicatory inscription on the base reads:

Σόν ποτε νικήσας, Ζεῦ Ὀλύμπιε, σεμνὸν ἀγῶνα
τεθρίπτωι μὲν ἄπαξ, μουνοκέλητι δὲ δίς,
δῶρ' ἱέρων τάδε σοι ἐχαρίσσατο· παῖς δ' ἀνέθηκε
Δεινομένης πατρὸς μνῆμα Συρακοσίου.

Hieron won his first Olympic victory with his racehorse Pherenikos in 476, which was celebrated by Pindar's *Olympian* 1 and by B. 5, and his second in 472, attested in the list of Olympic victors *POxy.* II 222 col. 1 32 for the 77th Olympiad: [ἑρ]ωνος Συρακοσίου κελῆς; but the crowning glory was his only Olympic chariot victory in 468.

Whether Hieron had travelled to Olympia in person to witness his chariot's victory seems doubtful, as he is said to have been suffering from some severe illness as early as 470, when Pindar, in his first *Pythian*, alludes to it by καμάτων ἐπίλασιν (*P.* 1.46) and the example of Philoktetes (*P.* 1.50–1). The scholia (II p.17–18 Dr.) report, quoting Aristotle's *Constitution of Syracuse* fr. 587, that Hieron was suffering from a bladder or kidney disease (λιθουρία), cf. Plut. *Mor.* 403c Γέλων μὲν ὕδρωπιῶν, ἱέρων δὲ λιθιῶν ἐτυράννησεν. This information is clearly not derived from Pindar's words; it must come from an independent source and therefore needs to be taken seriously. Kidney or bladder stones are painful, but they alone do not kill a man; there may have been another, more serious disease which was to kill Hieron in the following year, 467 BCE.

If this is correct, it seems reasonable to assume that Hieron probably knew about his condition and was aware that he might not have much

longer to live. This could be relevant to the question why B. chose the story of the Lydian king Kroisos' calamity and salvation to be the centrepiece of this ode, and why he made the parallel between Hieron and Kroisos so obvious, for here the relevance of the mythical narrative to the person and circumstances of the *laudandus* is made more explicit than anywhere else in choral lyric.

2. *The myth*

The story of Kroisos on the pyre, which B. tells in this ode, was not – or not entirely – his own invention. That it was known earlier is attested by the amphora of Myson in Paris, dated 490–480 BCE (Louvre G 197; *ARI*² 238; Appendix no. 1) which shows the king on a richly decorated throne, holding his sceptre and pouring a libation, on top of a large pyre which is being lit by a servant. The bearded king wears a chiton, and a wreath on his head; he is not represented as a captive, but seems to be fully in control. He is certainly not characterized as an oriental or barbarian king; his dress and hairstyle look Greek. On the amphora, the servant's name is given as Εὐθύμοσ. All these features match his characterization in B. who seems to follow the same version as the vase-painter, Myson; the most important element which they share is the king's autonomous decision to commit suicide on the pyre, and the absence of the victorious Persians from this scene. It is Kroisos himself who orders the pyre to be heaped, he mounts it of his own free will and orders the servant to set fire to it. In B., as on the Myson amphora, the king's resolve to end his life with dignity and before enduring slavery shows him in a heroic light; his gesture on the amphora, where he holds the libation bowl in his right hand, suggests a prayer, obviously not for his salvation but perhaps, on the contrary, for a quick death (cf. B. 3.47 θανεῖν γλύκιστον).

The wife and daughters do not appear on the amphora. If they formed part of the original story, the vase-painter may have omitted them in order not to distract from the impressive figure of the king on his throne. Alternatively, they may have been invented by B. to provide a contrast between their panic and despair and the king's heroic but selfish solitude. In either case it is evident that Myson and B. reflect essentially the same story which contrasts sharply with the later version, first found in Herodotos (1.86–7) and repeated by many later authors (Xenophon, *Cyr.* 7.2; Ktesias *FGrHist*

688 F 9; Nikolaos Damasc. *FGrHist* 90 F 68; Diodoros 9.2 and 9.34, from Ephoros?).

In Herodotos' version, Kroisos has lost all visible insignia of royal power. 'Indeed, this stripping of external goods is the prerequisite to the loss of delusions and the acquisition of a truer . . . inward wisdom' (Segal 1971: 42). He is in fetters and at the Persians' mercy; events are no longer controlled by him but by Kyros, who orders the pyre to be lit, because he wants to see whether a god will rescue his prisoner (1.86.2). In that situation Kroisos remembers what Solon once said to him, and with a deep groan calls his name three times. Kyros apparently believes this to be an invocation of some god and enquires, through interpreters, whom he is calling, whereupon Kroisos, after a long silence, tells him about his encounter with Solon, for he had realized that Solon's statement 'With all things one must consider the outcome; for having given a glimpse of happiness to many, god utterly destroyed them' (σκοπείειν δὲ χρὴ παντὸς χρήματος τὴν τελευτήν, κῆι ἀποβήσεται· πολλοῖσι γὰρ δὴ ὑποδέξας ὄλβον ὁ θεὸς προρρίζους ἀνέτρεψε, 1.32.9) applies to himself as much as it applies to all humans. Kyros, too, understands the implication for himself and changes his mind, when the flames are already licking at the edges of the pyre. This is the dramatic climax of the scene. Kyros orders his men to quench the fire and to bring Kroisos 'and those with him' (Κροῖσόν τε καὶ τοὺς μετὰ Κροῖσου, 1.86.6) down; when they fail to put the fire out, Kroisos invokes Apollo, reminding him of the gifts he had sent him, with tears (δακρύοντα, 1.87.1) – his composure is gone, he is distraught as he sees the sudden glimmer of hope which Kyros' 'change of heart' (μετάγνωσις) had offered him, disappear.

Kroisos is saved by a god who puts out the flames with a sudden rain-storm – on this, and on the reference to Kroisos' gifts to Apollo, Herodotos' version agrees with that of B. But while in Hdt. he is saved by Apollo alone, in B. the whole scene is orchestrated by Apollo and Zeus, who jointly set it in motion (Ζηνὸς τελέ[σσαντος κρί]σιν . . . Κροῖσον . . . φύλας' Ἀπόλλων, 26–9) and jointly rescue Kroisos: Zeus quenches the fire, Apollo takes Kroisos and his daughters away to the Hyperboreans (55–60).

In all other respects, however, the two versions are fundamentally different, especially in the way Kroisos is portrayed. It therefore seems very unlikely that B. was the source of Herodotos' story, which conveys the message, familiar from Attic tragedy, that mortals learn through suffering (πάθει μάθος, Aesch. *Ag.* 177). In fact, it appears that in the first half of the fifth

century there was a tragedy about Kroisos which inspired the painter of an Attic hydria of c. 470–450 BCE (Appendix no. 2), the fragments of which were published by Beazley 1955 pl.85 (*ARI*² 571.74; cf. Page 1962: 47–9; Snell 1973: 204). Its fragment A shows the upper part of a man in oriental costume and a Persian headdress (κίδαρῖς) with a staff in each hand; the lower part of his body is concealed by a burning pyre (flames are shown in red). The hand and wrist are also visible of a second man who is apparently helping the first to rise. Fr. B shows part of the pyre, also with flames. Frs. C, D, and E show other men dressed as Orientals, fr. E, moreover, a young Greek flute-player ‘in the full-dress costume worn by αὐληταί on the concert-platform, at athletic contests, or in the theatre’ (Beazley 1955: 308). Page convincingly concluded (1) that this scene represented a tragedy of roughly Aeschylean date ‘on the fall of the royal house of Lydia’ and (2) that it must be part of a trilogy on this subject, to which, presumably, the fragment of a play on Gyges (*POxy.* xxiii 2382 = Pack² 1707) also belonged: ‘In a tragedy of that period, the crime of Gyges and the Queen will not have been left unpunished: there must have been a sequel, in which retribution overtook them or their family; and the obvious end of the story was the fall of Croesus’ (Page 1962: 49).

A ‘Lydian’ trilogy may well have been the source, or a source, of Herodotos’ account. The source that inspired the Myson amphora and B. is, however, difficult to identify. Nothing is known about an epic version of the story; there may have been an early (Ionic ?) prose version, but no author can be named. The earliest known author of *Λυδικὰ* is Xanthos (*FGH Hist* iii, 765) in the late fifth century; earlier ones must have existed, because Hdt. repeatedly refers to οἱ Λυδοί for details of his account on Lydian history (cf. Hdt. 1.87.1; 1.93.5; 1.94.1–3; 4.45.3, = *FGH Hist* 768 F 5–8), but whether he is referring to oral or written accounts is disputed; see F. Jacoby, ‘Herodotos’, *RE Suppl.* ii 393–423. The first of those passages where ‘the Lydians’ are quoted (λέγεται ὑπὸ Λυδῶν, 1.87.1) is the story of Kroisos’ rescue after invoking Apollo, which happens to be one of the few details in which Hdt. and B. agree (cf. B. 3.38). This may suggest that a prose version was in circulation in Athens at the time of the Persian Wars, when this story would have been particularly relevant.

The message of the story is clear: as Apollo once saved Kroisos and took him to the land of the Hyperboreans, so he will protect Hieron in his darkest hour. It is possible that Hieron’s views on life after death, the judgement of the dead, and the Islands of the Blessed were similar to those of Theron

(cf. Pind. *O.* 2.68–83; see Zuntz, *Persephone* 85–7; Graf 1993: 239–58; on the close parallels between Orphic and Egyptian eschatology see Merkelbach 1999: 1–13 with bibliography). Whether or not Hieron shared these Orphic views and was hoping to be taken to the Islands of the Blessed, it is obvious from the way B. tells the story of Kroisos that he expected gratitude and help from Apollo in the face of death. If Hieron was conscious of death approaching, this story – as well as Apollo’s advice to Admetos (78–84) and the prospect of lasting fame after death (90–8) – will have had a very personal significance for him.

3. Structure

The formal structure of this victory ode is simple. The mythical narrative, i.e. the story of Kroisos on the pyre, forms its central part in 40 lines; it is preceded by a relatively brief first passage of praise for Hieron and his victory (1–22) and followed by a longer second praise passage (63–99). Its parts, however, are constructed with great skill in such a way as to reveal a number of formal and conceptual correspondences between their individual elements, as the following analysis will explain.

The first part begins with an invocation of Kleio, the Muse who is most closely associated with praise (κλείειν, cf. Hes. *Th.* 67 and 77) and fame (κλέος). The first stanza, while formally distinct and characterized as a προοίμιον, is at the same time part of the first praise because it mentions, in Ὀλυμπιοδρόμους Ἰέρωνος ἵππους, the three most important data of the epinician ‘programme’: the place of the victory, the victor’s name, and the contest; the fourth, the name of the victor’s father, is added in the antistrophe (Δεινομένεος, 7). The first strophe and antistrophe consist of one sentence each, showing parallel structures in that each invokes two goddesses (Demeter and Kore, Nika and Aglaia), then the victory and the victor; they are linked by the last word of the strophe (ἵππ[ο]υς, 4), which is the subject of the antistrophe, thus achieving a smooth transition from the *prooimion* to the first praise.

There is also a conceptual link between the first three and the last three verses of the ode: the verb of the first stanza, ὕμνει, recurs in the *sphragis* at the end (ὕμνήσει, 97); also, the request addressed to Kleio to praise Hieron’s horses is echoed by the statement at the end that the Muse ‘nourishes’ (τρέφει, 92) the fame of victory through the poet’s song (χάριν, 97); the poet’s epithet, μελιγλώσσου, echoes the Muse’s, γλυκύδωρε (3).

These verbal and conceptual correspondences form a kind of frame for the ode.

The first epode begins with a statement (θρόησε δὲ λαός, 9) which, though formally still part of the description of the chariot race, introduces a new element which will form the transition to the second part of the first praise, i.e. the reaction of the spectators, or more generally the public. While line 9 refers to the spectators of the race at Olympia, lines 15–16 focus on the people of Syracuse and the public of the present performance. In between, and right in the middle of the first praise passage, stands the comment on the victor: ὃ τρισευδαίμων ἀνὴρ (10), to whom Zeus has given power and who has used his wealth wisely. These two motifs, ‘power’ and ‘wealth’, relate to Zeus and Apollo who will then come into focus at the beginning and end of the mythical narrative, and again in the second praise passage, see below.

The transition from the first praise to the mythical narrative is made by the *gnome* θεὸν θε[ε]όν τις ἀγλαΐζέτω (21–2), which is echoed by Apollo’s advice to Admetos (83–4). Both statements relate to the myth of Kroisos, which provides a particularly close parallel to the victor, Hieron.

The narrative section (23–62) has a symmetrical structure, analogous to the ode as a whole, its central part being Kroisos’ speech (37–47), which is preceded and followed by the wailing of the daughters (33–5 and 49–51). The ‘frame’ of the Kroisos story is provided by the double intervention of the gods, which also shows a symmetrical structure in that Zeus’ destruction of Sardis (25–7) is matched by his extinguishing the flames of the pyre (55–6), whereas Kroisos’ rescue is attributed ‘proleptically’ to Apollo (28–9) and then presented as his transfer to the land of the Hyperboreans (58–60). The gods’ intervention is thus neatly shared between Zeus and Apollo, and this is reflected in the prayer of Kroisos, who first addresses the ‘almighty god’ (ὑπέρβιε δαίμον, 37–8) before he names Apollo (39). It seems likely that in the original version of the story Apollo was the dominant figure on the divine level, as he is in Herodotos’ account, and that B. has reduced his role in order to give prominence to Zeus, who appears at the outset, in the centre and at the end of the story. This change was evidently dictated by the occasion of the ode, because the poet wanted to highlight the parallel between Kroisos and Hieron, whose Olympic victory was won in the games dedicated to Zeus.

The second praise passage, which occupies the last part of the ode, falls into three sections of unequal length. The first (63–71) takes up the

themes of ‘power’ (Zeus) and ‘generosity’ (Apollo) from the first praise (10–14), but in reverse order, thus creating another symmetrical ‘frame’ for the narrative section. It is followed by a series of general statements or *gnomai* (72–84) which develop the idea that in view of the precariousness of the human condition, ‘godfearing deeds’ (in this context: generous donations to temples, such as Hieron’s dedications to Delphi, and festivities in honour of the gods) yield the best ‘profit’ (κέρδος), being, so to speak, the most profitable investment (83–4). This is presented as a conclusion from the Kroisos story; it is also in line with the statement which introduced it, concluding the first praise (21–2). This idea (‘generosity towards god pays dividends’) thus provides the link between the first praise and the narrative section, which it connects with the second praise (61–6), from which it leads on to the final section (83–4). Here it is presented in direct speech, as Apollo’s advice to Admetos, rather like the quotation from ‘Hesiod’ in 5.191–4: both quotations introduce the final dedication to the victor, Hieron.

The last triad contains the final section (85–98) which falls into two almost equal halves, the second of which (92 ἑρῶν . . . 98) recalls the *prooimion* through verbal repetitions. The two halves correspond in that the first combines the idea of wealth and generosity with that of lasting fame, which the second half then applies explicitly to Hieron. Here, too – as in the *prooimion* – the poet’s skill in effecting smooth, ‘gliding’ transitions can be seen at its best: the final sequence of statements moves smoothly into the final *sphragis*; the ode, which the chorus had requested from the Muse (ῥυμνεί, γλυκύδωρε Κλεοῖ, 3) is here called the ‘gift’ (χάρις, 97) of the ‘honey-tongued Kean nightingale’ (μελιγλώσσου . . . Κηῖας ἀηδόνος).

4. Metre

Among the extant odes of B., this is the only one that combines an aeolic/iambic strophe with an epode in dactyloepitrites. (There is only one other example of such a combination in Greek choral lyric, Pindar’s *O.* 13.) The strophe ends with $\text{---}\sim\sim\sim\sim\text{---}$, a ‘hipponactean’, and the epode begins with $\text{---}\sim\sim\sim\sim\sim\sim\text{---}$, which at first appears as a slight variation (\sim for \sim) of the preceding ‘hipponactean’. But the following lines of the epode may be interpreted as dactyloepitrites, so that its first line will also be described as dactyloepitritic, i.e. as $\text{---}D\text{---}$ rather than $\wedge pher^d$. However, lines 2–6 of the epode may also be analysed as ‘iambic’ (i.e., ${}^2cr\ ia \parallel {}^3cr\ ia\ {}^42ia \parallel {}^5cr\ 2ia\ {}^6cr$

ia ||), so that the transition from the end of the epode to the first line of the strophe (2ia ba ||) is not marked by any abrupt change in the metrical character. There is, however, a difference between strophe/antistrophe and epode as far as the rhythm is concerned: lines 2–6 of the epode contain no double *brevia* (apart from two cases of resolved *longum*, Ἀλυσά[τ]τα 40 and ὀσια 83), their rhythm therefore appears to be slower and weightier, almost solemn, and this seems to be in keeping with the content of each of the seven epodes:

ep.1 address to Hieron, who received power and wealth from Zeus,

ep.2 Zeus destroys Sardis (beginning of narrative section),

ep.3 Kroisos' invocation of Zeus and Apollo (central part of narrative section),

ep.4 Zeus extinguishes the flames (dramatic climax),

ep.5 address to Hieron, who has wealth and power from Zeus,

ep.6 Apollo's advice,

ep.7 address to Hieron and *sphragis*.

In other words, each of the epodes either addresses Hieron, or refers to Zeus, Apollo, or both. The poet seems to have adapted the words to the rhythm of the music, not the other way round.

1–4 B. likes to begin his victory odes with invocations of the Muse or Muses (as he does in 1 and 12), to the Graces (9), Phema (2 and 10) and Nika (11). The Muse Kleio may also be addressed in 13.9. Her name implies her function (κλείειν, see West on Hes. *Th.* 76), which makes her particularly relevant to encomiastic poetry. In *AP* 9.504.2 she is even credited with the 'invention' (εὑρεν) of choral lyric: Κλειῶ καλλιχόρου κιθάρης μελιηδέα μολπήν.

1 Ἀριστοκάρπου Σικελίας: the compound is found only here; it may have been coined by B., like ἀριστοπάτρα (11.106) and ἀρισταλκής (7.7), which are also ἄπαξ εἰρημένα. Sicily is praised for her abundance in grain by Pindar (ἀριστεύουσιν εὐκάρπου χθονὸς Σικελίαν πείραν *N.* 1.14–15, cf. ἀγλαοκάρπου Σικελίας fr. 106.5–6 and εὐκάρποιο γαίας *P.* 1.30) and Aeschylus (τῆς καλλικάρπου Σικελίας *Prom.* 369).

2 ἰοστέφανον: goddesses are often called 'violet-garlanded', cf. B. 5.3 and Theognis 250 (the Muses), *h. Ven.* 175, *h. Hom.* 6.18 and Solon 19.4 (Kypri), B. 13.122 (Thetis); this may suggest that the compound originated in cult poetry.

3–4 **θoάς . . . ἵππους:** chariot horses tend to be stallions on vases and in sculpture, but mares in poetry. In Homer, however, both sexes compete in the funeral games for Patroklos (*Il.* 23.290 and 377 stallions, 295 mare and stallion, 376 and 392 mares); ‘this . . . is a question not of sex but of <grammatical> gender (cf. esp. Soph. *El.*, where Orestes’ team are fem. in the pl. (703f., 734f., 737f.) but its members masc. in the sing. (721f., 744)’; Barrett on Eur. *Hipp.* 231. It is not clear why and how this convention has developed.

5–8 The formal correspondence between the first strophe and antistrophe is close: both name two goddesses, then refer to the victory and the victor (Ὀ[λυμ]πιοδρόμους 4 ≈ [στεφάνω]ν κυρῆσαι 8); the connecting link is the horses, which are the object in 4 and the subject of 5–8.

5 **σεύον]το** (or ὄρνυν]το): Kenyon preferred σεύοντο on account of the Pindaric parallels (*O.* 1.20, *I.* 8.61, *Pai.* 9.5), but cf. B. 5.45 πρὸς τέλος ὄρνύμενον, of Hieron’s racehorse Pherenikos.

γάρ: ‘the explanatory particle . . . is a characteristic not only of prayer hymns . . . but also of hymns of praise’, Bundy, *Studia Pindarica* 46, who also refers to B. 4.4 and Pind. *O.* 13.6.

σὺν ὑπερόχωι τε Νίκα: the epithet implies that Victory grants ‘supremacy’ (ὑπερέχειν) over competitors. Instead of giving a vivid picture of the race, as he does in 5.37–49, B. quite briefly stresses the superiority of Hieron’s horses. The sequence Νίκα – Ἀγλαῖα points to the link between the victory and the splendour of its celebration, which is also implied in the statement at the end, πράξα[ντι] δ’ εὖ οὐ φέρει κόσμ[ον σι]ωπά 94–96.

6 **εὐρυδίναν:** only here and 5.38, also of the Alpheios river. Three of B.’s compounds beginning with εὐρυ– are not found in other authors (εὐρυδίνας, εὐρυάναξ, εὐρυνεφής).

7–8 **Δεινομένους ἔθηκαν ὄλβιον τ[έκος στεφάνω]ν κυρῆσαι** ‘they made Deinomenes’ son prosper, so that he won garlands’; the construction is not acc. + inf., but τιθέναι + double acc. (ὄλβιον is predicative) and consecutive inf. depending on ὄλβιος. For examples of consecutive infinitives depending on adjectives such as this, or ἐπιτιθήδειος, ἱκανός, τοῖος, οἴος τε etc., see Schwyzler II 364; a close parallel to this construction is Pindar’s statement in *P.* 9.6–8 that Apollo took Kyrene τόθι νιν . . . θῆκε δέσποιναν χθονὸς ρίζαν ἀπείρου τρίταν . . . οἰκεῖν ‘where he made her mistress of a land . . . to inhabit the . . . root of the third continent’.

9 θρόησε δὲ λ[αὸς] — —: Blass' supplement ἀπείρων is based on 9.30 Ἑλλάνων δι' ἅπ[ε]ρονα κύκλον, cf. *Il.* 24.776 ἐπὶ δ' ἔσπενε δῆμος ἀπείρων. Another possible supplement is Jebb's ἀγασθεῖς, cf. Pind. *P.* 4.238 ἴυξεν . . . δύνασιν Αἰήτας ἀγασθεῖς ('amazed', when Jason managed to yoke the bulls). B. refers to the spectators' reaction to the victory in 9.35 βοῶν ὥτρυνε λαῶν, following a detailed description of the contest; there, too, it is an element of the victor's praise.

10–14 ἃ τρισευδαίμ[ων ἀνήρ] . . . κρύπτειν σκότῳ: is this passage (a) a comment by the chorus and/or the poet, or (b) by the admiring crowd? Line 9 might well serve as a formula introducing direct speech, for which [Hes.] fr. 211 would provide a close parallel. However, the calm description of the victor in lines 11–14 (δς . . . λαχῶν . . . οἶδε κτλ.) is very different from the noisy applause suggested by line 9, and lines 15–16 obviously refer to Syracuse where Hieron's success is being celebrated, which would seem odd if the preceding passage 10–14 were set at Olympia, in direct speech, as Führer, *Reden* 147 has pointed out.

11 παρὰ Ζηνός: again and again the poet emphasizes the roles of Zeus and Apollo: Zeus has given Hieron power, to Apollo Hieron has sent rich gifts (17–21), and this is reflected, in reverse order, in the second praise (64–71) which completes the 'frame' around the story of Kroisos on the pyre; on its structure, see above, pp. 83–5.

12 πλείσταρχον Ἑλλάνων γέρας 'the privilege of ruling over the greatest number of Greeks'; Kenyon drew attention to the language of the Greek envoys to Gelon, Hieron's elder brother and predecessor, in Hdt. 7.157 μοῖρά τοι τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐκ ἐλαχίστη μέτα, ἄρχοντί γε Σικελίας. The epithet, πλείσταρχος, is found only here, although it occurs as a personal name in Hdt., Thuc. and later in inscriptions and papyri.

13–14 οἶδε . . . πλοῦτον μὴ . . . κρύπτειν: a variation of the 'generosity' motif, on which see Bundy, *Studia Pindarica* 89–90. Pindar, too, stresses the need to use wealth in order to secure fame, especially in victory odes for chariot races, cf. *N.* 1.31–2 and *I.* 1.67–8 and the parallels collected by Bundy 84–91. This motif recurs at the end of the ode where B. says that Hieron has displayed 'the most beautiful flowers of wealth, and when a man has prospered, adornment is not brought him by silence' (92–5).

μελαμφαρέϊ: only here and in the word-list *PHibeh* II 172.4 = *SH* 991, presumably from this line in B. (but cf. also *Hymn. Is.* 43–4 *μελάμφαρόν τε βερέθρων . . . φυλακάν*). Darkness (*σκότος*) is seen as wearing a black cloak; this is simply a metaphor for ‘silence’, ‘being ignored’ or ‘forgotten’, and has nothing to do with a shroud, as has been suggested (Townsend 1956: 75), for a *φῶρος* used as a shroud is white, cf. *Il.* 18.353, *Od.* 24.148; the law on burials *IG XII* 5.593.2 requires *θά[πτ]εν τὸν θανόντα ἐν ἐμ[α]τίο[ις τρ]ισί λευκοῖς*, cf. Andronikos, *Totenkult* 9.

15–16 βρύει . . . ἄγυιαι: these two lines complete the description of the celebration in Syracuse; *βρύειν* + dat. = ‘to teem with’, + gen. = ‘to be full of’, as in fr. 4.79 *συμποσίων . . . βρίθοντ’ ἄγυιαι* (on the meaning of *ἄγυιαι*, see on 11.58).

17–19 λάμπει δ(ἐ) . . . πάροιθε ναοῦ: this answers 15 *βρύει μὲν*, marking the change of venue – the golden tripods are at Delphi, outside the temple. The bases of tripods dedicated by Hieron and his brothers are still *in situ* on the terrace near the entrance to the temple, c. 10 metres to the north of the altar (see Homolle 1897: 588–90; Courby, *La terrasse du temple* 249–51; Amandry 1987: 81–92 has seen that the base dedicated by Hieron’s elder brother Gelon (from the spoils of the Deinomenids’ victory over the Carthaginians at Himera in 480, = base A) cannot have carried a tripod but probably a bronze column which supported a plinth, or a capital, which in turn formed the base of a Victory with tripod. As Theopompos (quoted by Athen. 6.231f.) states that Hieron’s monument was ‘similar’ (*τοῦ δ’ ἱέρωνος τὰ ὁμοία*), it seems at least possible that his base (B) also supported a bronze column which carried a golden Victory statue and a tripod. The two bases are on the same level and closely aligned to one another; although their diameters differ slightly (base A: 144.6 cm, base B: 148 cm), the two monuments may have been of approximately the same height. That Hieron’s tripod and Victory were made of pure gold (*ἕξ ἀπέφθου χρυσοῦ*) which his agents had acquired at Corinth is also attested by Theopompos (Athen. 6.232a–b); cf. Diod. 11.26.7.

17 ὑπὸ μαρμαρυγαῖς is usually translated as a dative of attendant circumstances (‘with flashing light’), but this seems unlikely: Kenyon rightly pointed out that ‘it seems better to make *τριπόδων* dependent on *μαρμαρυγαῖς* than on *χρυσός*, since the former would stand rather awkwardly by itself’; his translation (‘the splendour of gold flashes forth from the radiance of the . . . tripods’) implies that ‘under’ the quivering gleam of the tripods which are reflecting the sunlight, the gold shines forth: the image

would be similar to those evoked by Philostr., *VS* 2.1.14 χρυσοῦ ψῆγμα ποταμῶι ἄργυροδίνηι ὑπαυγάζον and Oppian, *C.* 1.420–1 πυρόντες | ὀφθαλμοὶ χαροπαῖσιν ὑποστίλβοντες ὀπωπαῖς, cf. Ap.Rhod. 3.1300–1 φῦσαι . . . ἀναμαρμαίρουσιν | πῦρ . . . πιμπρᾶσαι (see Campbell 1982: 16). **18** ὑψιδαιδάλτων: not ‘deep-chased’ (Kenyon), as compounds beginning with ὑψ- tend to suggest something high or tall; so here perhaps ‘high and richly wrought’ (LSJ). Alternatively, it may mean ‘decorated at the top’: large bronze vessels, at any rate, of the late sixth and the fifth centuries tend to have sophisticated decoration, such as separately cast figures or friezes, on the shoulders or neck; the most spectacular of these is the crater from Vix, now in Châtillon-sur-Seine (Joffroy, *Le trésor de Vix*; Richter, *Handbook of Greek Art* 215–16, figs. 302 and 303; Appendix no. 3) see also the two craters from Trebenishte: Joffroy pl. 19–21.

21–2 θεὸν θ[εό]ν τις: the repetition was common in ritual invocations, cf. Diagoras *PMG* 738.1, Aesch. *Th.* 566, Eur. *HF* 772 and *Andr.* 1031; Hsch. θ 300 θεός, θεός· ἔθος ἦν, ὅτε κατάρχοντό τινος, λέγειν θεὸν ἐπιφημιζομένοις.

ἀγλαϊζέθῳ = ἀγλαϊζέτω· ὁ: *synekphonesis*, as in Sappho 1.11 ὠράνω ἰθερος = ὠράνω αἴθερος, cf. Schwyzler I 401–4; Lobel, *Σαπφοῦς μέλη* p. lxii.

22 ἄριστος ὄλβων: this kind of partitive genitive recurs at 3.52 and 83–4, cf. Eur. fr. 137 τῶν γὰρ πλούτων ὅδ’ ἄριστος γενναῖον λέχος εὐρεῖν.

23–62 The narrative section centres on the story of the fall and rescue of Kroisos, which B. presents as a close parallel to Hieron’s relation with Delphi. On its structure see above, p. 84.

23–9 ἐπεὶ ποτε . . . φύλαξ Ἀπόλλων: the account of Kroisos’ fall and rescue is presented as illustration of the statement that to honour god is the best <guarantee of> prosperity (ὄλβος). The events are set in motion by Zeus and Apollo, who also bring them to a conclusion (55–60), Zeus playing the more active part, while Apollo protects and eventually removes his protégé.

23–4 δαμασίππου Λυδίας: the compound stresses the parallel between the king of ‘horse-taming Lydia’ and Hieron’s ‘hippic’ victory. The Lydians were famous for their horsemanship, cf. Minn. 14.3 Λυδῶν ἵππομάχων and Hdt. 1.79.3 who says that in the time of Kroisos there were no better fighters on horseback in Asia Minor than the Lydians.

24–8 Λυδίας ἀρχαγέταν . . . Κροῖσον: this type of anticipated apposition occurs several times in Solon, cf. 1.21–2 θεῶν ἔδος . . . οὐρανόν, 1.57–8 Παιῶνος . . . ἔργον ἔχοντες | ἱητροί, 2.2 κόσμον ἐπέων ᾠδὴν.

26 Ζηνὸς τελέ[σσαντος κρί]σιν: κρί]σιν (Weil) would be Zeus' 'decision' to destroy Sardis, cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 1288 ἐν θεῶν κρίσει (the destruction of Troy), Pindar, fr. 131b.4 τερπνῶν ἐφέρποισαν χαλεπῶν τε κρίσιν. τί]σιν (Sandys), which might fit marginally better into the lacuna, would imply the notion that Kroisos' fall was vengeance for Gyges' crime in the fifth generation after him, counting inclusively: ἐπέϊπε ἡ Πυθίη ὡς Ἡρακλείδῃσι τίσις ἦξει ἐς τὸν πέμπτον ἀπόγονον Γύγεω Hdt. 1.13.2, cf. 1.91.1. Whether B. was aware of this version is uncertain, and Kenyon pointed out that 'as Croesus is here set forth as a favourite of the gods, it is perhaps more appropriate to represent him as suffering from the *fate* of Zeus than from his *vengeance*'.

28 χρυσά[ορος] 'of the golden (lyre)-strap'? The meaning of this compound was controversial; Schol. A on *Il.* 15.256 claims that the strap (ἄροτήρ) could hold either Apollo's quiver or his lyre, but not a sword, 'for the god is pure' (ἄγνός), and quotes Pindar's fr. 128c where the epithet is given to Orpheus, supporting the meaning 'of golden (lyre-) strap'. Cf. Janko on *Il.* 15.254–9.

30–1 πολυδ[άκρυσ]ν . . . δ[ουλοσύ]ναν 'tearful slavery'. The thought that death is preferable to slavery (also in Eur. fr. 245) is a variation of a topos, common in tragedy, that 'it is better to die than to live miserably or ignominiously'; many parallels have been collected by Pearson on Soph. frs. 488 and 952, to which Ion *PMG* 746 = *TrGF* 1 19 F 53 can be added.

ἔτι: in addition to the loss of his kingdom and the destruction of his city.

32 χαλκ[ο]τειχέος τ[ροπάροι]θεν αὐ[λᾶς] 'in front of his bronze-walled courtyard'. Many mythical palaces have bronze or bronze-clad walls, like those of Hephaistos (*Il.* 18.369–71), Alkinoos (*Od.* 7.86), Aiolos (*Od.* 10.3–4), or a bronze floor, like the χαλκοβατῆς δῶ of Zeus (*Il.* 1.426 etc.), also of Alkinoos (*Od.* 13.4), cf. Pindar, *Paeon* 8.68–9 (on the third temple at Delphi) and Antimachos fr. 187 Wyss (Ἀράων θάλαμοι).

34–5 ἄλφ[στον] . . . δυσρομέναις 'wailing inconsolably', cf. *Od.* 14.174 παιδὸς ἄλαστον ὁδύρομαι. B. seems to use the adverb in the sense of 'woefully', in accordance with the epic formula πένθος ἄλαστον (*Il.* 24.105; *Od.* 1.342; 24.423; Hes. *Th.* 467), not with the etymology ('unforgettable',

ἀνεπιλήστως Schol. *Od.* 14.174, cf. Schol. bT on *Il.* 19.64). Hesych. α 2779 combines both meanings (ἀλάστοις· ἀνεπιλήστοις, χαλεποῖς, δεινοῖς). The wailing of the daughters, here and in 49–51, and their helpless gesture (see 49–51n.) form a contrasting frame around the defeated king's defiant and heroic speech (37–47).

35–6 χέρας . . . ἀίρας: raising both hands is a typical prayer gesture, quite distinct from stretching out one hand (17.72n.).

37 ὑπέρ[βι]ε δαῖμον: Zeus, the 'overwhelming power', who has implemented the fate of Sardis (25–6); certainly not Apollo (so LSJ *s.v.* ὑπέρβιος), who is referred to in 39.

38–9 According to Hdt. 1.90, Kroisos sent his fetters to Delphi and enquired 'whether the Greek gods were in the habit of being ungrateful'; the Pythia's response was that it was 'impossible even for a god to escape the apportioned fate' (1.91). This kind of indignant question is also found in tragedy: Aesch. *Cho.* 900–1; Eur. *Tro.* 428 ποῦ δ' Ἀπόλλωνος λόγοι;

40 Ἀλύά[τ]τα δόμοι: Hdt. 1.30 mentions Alyattes' palace and his treasures. The American excavations at Sardis have uncovered what could be part of the supporting terraces of the Lydian royal palace; cf. Hanfmann 1977: 145–54 and pl. 41; id., *Sardis* 73–5 and figs. 79–80.

44–5 [Χρυσο]δίνας Πακτωλός: the river Paktolos (Sart Çayı) was famous for its gold dust washed down from Mt. Tmolos (Boz Dağı); cf. Bean, *Aegean Turkey* 261. Soph. *Phil.* 394 calls it εὐχρυσος, cf. Hdt. 5.101.

45–6 ἀικελίως γυναῖκες . . . ἄγονται: even though Xenophon claims that Kroisos persuaded the victor, Kyros, 'not to loot the city nor to take away children and women' (*Cyr.* 7.2.12), this is probably due to his tendency to idealize Kyros, rather than to historical fact. In B., by contrast, Kroisos' graphic description of the catastrophe that is unfolding before his eyes echoes the experience of Homeric heroes whose city is sacked: 'they kill the men, fire consumes the city; others lead off the children and the deep-bound women' (*Il.* 9.593–4).

47 The papyrus reads τα προσθεν δ [εχ]θρα^{νν} φίλα: the δ' is against the metre, as is the νν above the line; both have to be deleted. The scribes are often puzzled by asyndeta and instinctively insert particles, particularly δ' or γ'; νν was added by A³, presumably off his own bat, in order to clarify the sentence. Both additions, apart from being unmetrical, destroy the grandiose pathos of this speech which comes exactly at the centre of the mythical narrative; its last line is the capping climax to a series of short, almost breathless, asyndetic statements. What matters to the poet

here is not so much the dramatic build-up and climax of events (the sack of Sardis or Kroisos' rescue would have made a very effective climax), but the increasing intensity of the king's despair, and his heroic resolve to face death with dignity, rather than slavery (cf. 30–1).

48 ἄβ[ρο]βάταν 'soft-stepping': only here and Aesch. *Pers.* 1072, also as a noun (ἄβροβάται are the old Persians who form the chorus). As B. may have been in Syracuse at about the time of the play's second performance there at Hieron's request (cf. Schol. on Ar. *Ran.* 1028), it is conceivable that he witnessed that performance. If so, he may have borrowed the word for the Lydian attendant (whose name is Εὐθυμος on Myson's amphora, Louvre G 197).

49 ξύλινον δόμον: similarly, Pindar calls the pyre on which Koronis is cremated a ξύλινον τεῖχος, *P.* 3.38.

49–51 ἐκ[λα]γον . . . χεῖρας ἐβαλλον: the daughters wailed as they mounted the pyre (34–5), but now, as it is being lit, they 'shrieked and threw up their hands to their mother', a touching gesture which contrasts sharply with the king's heroic composure. As the daughters and their mother do not appear on the Louvre amphora, it seems possible that they were added by B. for the sake of contrast. Alternatively, one might assume that Myson left them out lest they should detract attention from the majestic figure of Kroisos.

51–2 ὁ γὰρ προφανής . . . φόνων 'the death that is seen coming is the most hateful to mortals'. Prometheus had taken the foreknowledge of their own death away from humans (Aesch. *Prom.* 248, cf. Plato, *Gorg.* 523d), which was one of his benefactions to mankind. The opposite view, that misfortune is easier to bear if it has been seen approaching, is first found in Euripides' fr. 964 N² (also quoted by Plut. *Mor.* 112d and translated by Cicero, *Tusc.* 3.13.28–9) and Aristotle, *NE* 3.1117a18–22, and (from Aristotle?) by Ach. Tat. 1.3 and Heliodoros 2.24.

53–4 δεινοῦ πυρὸς λαμπρὸν . . . [μέ]γος 'the bright strength of the grim fire'; the phrase may have been inspired by Homer's description of Chimaira, *Il.* 6.182 δεινὸν ἀποπνεύουσα πυρὸς μένος αἰθομένοιο.

55–6 Ζεὺς . . . σβέννυνεν ξανθὰ[ν φλόγα] 'Zeus . . . quenched the yellow flame'. Zeus' intervention (the fall of Sardis) had set in motion the dramatic action (23–9n.) which is now coming to its conclusion. In Hdt. 1.87, by contrast, the saving rain-cloud appears to be sent by Apollo in answer to Kroisos' prayer. B. is careful to make Apollo and Zeus act in tandem, for reasons discussed in §3 above, p. 84.

57–8 ἄπιστον οὐδὲν . . . τεύχει ‘nothing that the planning of the gods brings about is past belief’, cf. 17.118n. In Pindar, this topos functions as a transition from the mythical narrative to the victor’s praise (*P.* 9.69–70; *P.* 10.48–50) or vice versa (*N.* 10.49–54), whereas B. uses it as a dramatic climax, both here and in 17.117–18. Cf. also Sem. 1.2 Ζεὺς . . . τίθησ’ ὅκηι θέλει and Thgn. 142 θεοὶ δὲ κατὰ σφέτερον πάντα τελοῦσι νόον.

59 This is the only case of living mortals being taken to the ‘Land of the Blessed’ (Jebb). For B. and Pindar, the Hyperboreans were a kind of blessed people, and their land, thought to be somewhere in the North, a kind of Ἡλύσιον πεδῖον (*Od.* 4.561–9) or ‘Islands of the Blessed’ (Hes. *Op.* 167–73) where Zeus settled dead heroes. The idea of Kroisos’ and his daughters’ rescue by Apollo may have been inspired by Stesichoros, who made Apollo take Hekabe to Lycia (Paus. 10.27.2 = *PMG* 198).

62 ἐς ἀγαθέαν . . . Ὠ[υθ]ῶ: the adjective (‘holy’) is usually given to places dedicated to the cult of a god, such as Delphi, as in *Od.* 8.80 and Hes. *Th.* 499.

<ἀν>έπεμψε ‘had sent up’. Herodotos says ἀπέπεμψε (1.51–2), ‘the fitting word from a Lydian point of view, as ἀνέπεμψε is from that of a Greek’ (Jebb). The verb provides the cue for the second praise passage (πέμψαι 66).

63–99 The second praise passage; on its structure, see above, pp. 84–5.

63–6 ὁσφ[ι] <γε> μὲν Ἑλλάδ’ ἔχουσιν, [ο]ὔτι[ς] . . . βροτῶν: negative superlatives are not uncommon in epinicians, cf. B. 8.22–5 (‘no-one among the Greeks . . . won more victories’), Pind. *O.* 2.93–5, *P.* 2.58–61, *N.* 6.24–6, also in B. fr. 20C.21–4. On adversative γε μὲν see Denniston 386–7; of all people Kroisos had sent the most generous gifts to Delphi, and of all Greeks it was Hieron. The point here is not a distinction between Hellenes and non-Hellenes (Jebb), but the parallel between Kroisos and Hieron (see above, pp. 80 and 84).

64 ὦ μεγάλνῃτῃ ἱέρων: the hiatus before ἱέρων is paralleled at 92, where the name stands in the same position in the verse; similar hiatuses before names occur in B. 2.7 (αὐχένι Ἰσθμοῦ) and in 16.5 (ἀνθεμόεντι Ἐβρωί). The lengthening of –τε is strange; cases like δόρυ· σόει (17.90n.) or δόμοι· ἔμολεν (17.100) are not comparable because there the lengthening of the vowel can be accounted for by assuming ‘duplication’ of the following consonant.

65 χρυσόν: the golden tripods dedicated by Hieron and placed on the terrace on the east side of the temple; they have been discussed by Amandry 1987: 81–92 and Krumeich 1991: 37–62.

67–71 Formally, this sentence is the inversion of the preceding one: ‘no-one of those who dwell in Greece . . .’ > < ‘anyone who does not fatten himself on envy’. For the φθόνος-motif, see 11.123–4n.

68 πιαίνεται: the correction (from ιαινεται) by **A**³ is confirmed by the scholion *POxy.* 2367 (pap.**M**) fr. 2. The image is also used in a negative sense by Pindar (*P.* 2.55–6 and *N.* 8.21) and in *TiGF* II fr. 533 εἰσὶν τινες νῦν οὖς τὸ βασκαίνειν τρέφει ‘there are some now who feed on malice’.

70 [. . .]ίου . . . Διός: Nairn’s [ξιν]ίου is the most likely supplement, cf. Pind. *N.* 11.7–9 where the addressee’s hospitality and fondness for music are praised in similar terms; see Bundy 25 nn.58 and 61.

72–4 The lines are paraphrased in the commentary *POxy.* 2367 (pap.**M**) fr. 3.1–6 where ἐφ[ήμερο] [όντ]ες (line 3) refers to ἐφάμερον 73; lines 4–6 [δυ]γατὰ ἐρεῦνα [c. 10 letters] ὅτι ὀλιγοχρό[νιος ὁ βίος ?] must therefore paraphrase 74, which may suggest reading [καίρι]α σκόπει{ς} there (cf. Lloyd-Jones, 1958:18).

74 βραχ[ύς ἐστιν αἰών] (Blass) or βραχ[ὺ γὰρ τὸ τερπνόν (H. Fränkel); in any case, the phrase seems to be meant as an explanation of the preceding statement.

75–6 πτερ[ό]εσσα δ’ ἐλπὶς ὑπ[ο]λύει ν]όημα | [ἐφαμ]ερίων ‘winged hope undoes the thinking of mortals’, paraphrased in pap. **M** fr.3: ἡ πτερ[ό]εσσα ἐλπὶς δι[α]φθείρει τὸ [τῶν ἀνθρώπων ν]όημα. The verb paraphrased by διαφθείρει may have been ὑπολύει (Snell), cf. *Il.* 6.27 ὑπέλυσε μένος. The idea of the dangerous seductive force of ‘hope’ recurs in Thuc. 5.103.

77 *-].’λος (or].’δος): the only convincing supplement so far suggested is [ἐκαβ]όλος (Jebb). This seems to be a reference to the ‘Sayings for Admetos’ (Ἀδμήτου λόγοι), a collection of maxims supposedly given to Admetos, the son of Pheres, by Apollo when he was in the service of the Thessalian king, cf. Pherekydes, *FGHist* 3 F 35. They may have been similar to the ‘Teachings of Chiron’ (Χίρωνος ὑποθήκαι, [Hes.] frs. 283–5); some Attic drinking songs, one of them ascribed to Praxilla (*PMG* 749), also refer to ‘sayings for Admetos’, cf. Bowra, *Greek lyric poetry* 377.

78–82 θνατὸν εὔντα . . . τελεῖς ‘since you are mortal, you must foster two thoughts: that tomorrow will be the only day on which you see the sun’s

light, and that for fifty years you will live out a life steeped in wealth'. This has a close parallel only in Epicharmos: ὡς πολὺν ζήσων χρόνον χῶς ὀλίγον, οὕτως διανοοῦ 'think as if you would live for a long time and for a short while' (267 Kaibel = *CGF* 1 256 p.149; cf. also Stob. 3. 1.93). B. may have borrowed the statement either from a collection of 'sayings for Admetos' (see 77n.), or from Epicharmos: this could then be another example of an intertextual reference in an ode performed at Syracuse to poetry that must have been particularly well known in Sicily, like the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter* (see 5.16–30n.). The formal function of this quotation is similar to that of the quotation from Hesiod in 5.191–4 in that both provide the transition to the final section; both odes end with personal references to Hieron.

83–4 δῖσι δρῶν . . . κερδέων ὑπέρτατον 'gladden your heart by doing righteous deeds, for this is the highest of gains'. These lines clearly form part of Apollo's saying, as they are the conclusion to be drawn from the preceding lines; cf. 21–2 above, where θεὸν θεὸν τις ἀγλαιζέτω follows in a very similar manner; also as asyndeton, the description of Hieron's tripods at Delphi.

δῖσι 'righteous deeds', such as generous offerings to the gods, and εὐφραίνει θυμόν 'gladden your heart' anticipate 87 εὐφροσύνα δ' ὁ χρυσός in the sense that the offerings and festivities, paid for by Hieron, will be 'a good investment'.

85–98 The last triad falls into two parts of almost equal length: 85–92 τρ[έφει] are a series of general statements which prepare the way for the final address to Hieron and the personal dedication of the ode by the poet. The two halves of this last triad correspond in that the second (92–8) is the specific example, i.e. Hieron's victory and hence his fame in song, which illustrates the first; the series of *gnomai* (85–92) is capped by the vocative ἱέρων (92), a 'name cap' in Bundy's terminology (Bundy 5 n.8), just as the second is capped by the reference to the poet, the 'Kean nightingale'. Hieron's name is in the same position here as in the first stanza (4), thus linking proem and conclusion and presenting the last sentence (τις ὑμνήσει) as the fulfilment of the prayer to the Muse (ῥυμνι . . . Κλειοῖ, 3); see 97n. The implication is that the ode is inspired by the Muse, Kleio, and will guarantee Hieron's fame. This assertion is no less proud than Ibykos' final statement in his song for Polykrates: 'And you too, Polykrates, will have fame

forever, as far as poetry and my reputation can ensure it' (*PMG* 282.47–8); cf. Barron 1969: 119–49 (translation: p. 135).

85–92 The meaning of this sequence of *gnomai* has eluded most scholars. The argument of the passage moves between opposites in three stages: (a) heaven and sea are eternal, (b) joy and youth are transient, (c) only fame of achievements, 'nourished' by poetry, will last. Its first three lines (85–7) may 'copy Pindar's abruptness, and his splendour' (Jebb, with reference to the famous opening lines of Pindar's first *Olympian*: 'Best is water, while gold, like fire blazing | in the night, shines preeminent amid lordly wealth. But if you wish to sing | of athletic games . . .'). Pindar's ode was performed at Syracuse in 476; it is, of course, possible that it was known to B., but it does not necessarily follow that his verses are an 'open imitation of Pindar', as Jebb thought. In fact, B. introduces different elements (εὐφροσύνα, γῆρας/ῆβα), and those he shares with Pindar he uses differently. For him, the heavens (αἰθήρ) and the sea stand for the everlasting and unchanging elements; gold is not the best part of wealth, as in Pindar, but 'joy' or 'festivity' (εὐφροσύνα) – it is this statement which has always caused problems. Most commentators have taken gold, together with heaven and sea, as an eternal and incorruptible element (cf. Thgn. 449–52; Sim. *PMG* 541.4) and therefore εὐφροσύνα as 'a joy forever' (Kenyon, Jebb), ignoring the fact that gold, here as well as in Pind. *O.* 1.1–2 and *O.* 3.42, stands for wealth, and wealth is never considered as something stable and unchanging; on the contrary, wealth is often thought of as something short-lived and very precarious, cf. Solon 15 = Thgn. 315–18; Hes. *Op.* 320–6; B. 1.159–84; Eur. *El.* 941–4, *Phoen.* 555–7, frs. 354 and 618 N². In B., gold 'is' joy (εὐφροσύνα = ὦι τις εὐφραίνεται), something quite different from the eternal elements; it is in the same category as 'youth' (ῆβα) which will not last and, once gone, cannot be retrieved. The only thing that will last is ἀρετᾶς φέγγος, 'the light of excellence' (90–1), which lives on in song.

85 φρονέοντι συνετὰ γάρῳ 'I say what will be intelligible to one who thinks'. The formula with which B. announces his statements is a variation of *Il.* 23.787 εἰδόσιν ὅμῳ ἔρέω, cf. Pind. *P.* 4.142; Aesch. *Supp.* 742, *Ag.* 39 and 1402, *Prom.* 441–2. In all these passages the meaning is 'you know already what I am going to say', whereas B. says 'you have to reflect on what I am going to say', i.e. the implication of his words will not be immediately obvious to all, but Hieron will understand them (see 5.3–6n.). Pindar also emphasizes that his words are meant for those who

can think (*O.* 2.85 φωνάεντα συνετοῖσιν); cf. Theocr. 24.71 and the ‘riddle’ stele from Egypt, *Sammelbuch* v 8026.20 συνιέντι θέλω λέγειν τι.

85–6 βαθὺς . . . αἰθήρ: 5.16–17n.

88–9 πολὺν . . . γῆρας: a common formula, cf. B. fr. 25.2–3; Pind. *I.* 6.15; Thgn. 174; Eur. *Supp.* 170, etc.

π[αρ]έντα ‘passing by’, i.e. retrieve youth instead of enduring ‘grey’ old age; for this usage, cf. Eur. *Alc.* 939 παρῆς τὸ μόρσιμον: Admetos ‘passed by’ the death that was destined for him.

90 γε μ]έν: examples of adversative γε μὲν in Homer and lyric poetry (‘however’, corresponding to γε μὴν in Attic prose) have been collected by Denniston, *Particles* 387.

91 ἄμα σ[ώμ]ατι: in choral lyric, the expectation of death or, more generally, the limitation of the human condition is often contrasted with the immortality of fame, e.g. B. 1.181–4; Pind. *N.* 7.19–21; *P.* 1.92–4; see Bundy 87–8. Here, too, the motives of old age and death serve as a dark foil for the ‘light of excellence’ (ἀρετᾶς φέγγος). Hieron, who had probably been suffering for some time from the illness which was to kill him the following year (see above, p. 79), may have drawn comfort from this thought.

92–4 Μοῦσά νιν τρ[έφει]: for the ‘feeding’ metaphor, cf. B. 13.58–62; Pind. *O.* 1.112; *O.* 10.95–6. On the hiatus before ἱέρων, see 64n.

ἱέρων, σὺν δ’ ὄλβου . . . ἄνθεα: the ‘name cap’ (see 85–98n.) introduces the second half of the concluding triad, in which the general statements of the first half are applied to the occasion of the ode, the celebration of Hieron’s victory (above, 85–98n.). Hieron’s name (in the same position as in 4), combined with the ὄλβος motif, recalls the proem (1–8); these verbal and conceptual repetitions serve to make the audience aware that the ode is drawing to a close (see also 95n. and 97n.). The ‘flowers’ (ἄνθεα) are the visible manifestations of ‘wealth’ (ὄλβος), in Hieron’s case both the golden tripods at Delphi (17–22) and the celebration of his Olympic victory (cf. 5.186 εὐδαιμονίας πέταλον), which he has ‘displayed to mortals’ (ἐπεδ[είξ]αο θνατοῖς 93).

95 [σι]ωπά: the function of the ‘silence’ motif in Pindar is discussed by Bundy 73–4. Used, as here, in a negative way it amounts to an exhortation to praise, cf. Pind. *N.* 9.6–7; *I.* 2.43–5; *P.* 9.93–4. It echoes the phrase in the first praise passage, 13–14 (Hieron ‘knows how not to hide his wealth in darkness’).

96–8 σὺν δ’ ἄλαθ[εῖαι] . . . ἠδόνος ‘with the truth of your successes, men will sing the gift of the Kean nightingale’. The concluding sentence

has been almost universally misunderstood (‘men will praise also the charm of the melodious nightingale of Ceos’, Jebb). H. Fränkel understood the meaning of this passage correctly: ‘χάρις is much more likely to signify the ode itself as a pleasure and a gift of friendship, as so often in Pindar (*O.* 10.78; *P.* 11.12; *N.* 7.75 etc.; with possessive *P.* 10.64; with genitive *P.* 2.70); and just as the transitive κελαδέω can mean both ‘sing about’ (*N.* 9.54: ἄρετὰν κελαδῆσαι) and ‘perform’ (*O.* 11.14: κόσμον ὀδυμελῆ κελαδέσω; *N.* 4.16 ὕμνον κελάδησε καλλινίκον), so ὕμνησει here must mean ‘perform the ode’ (cf. Ovid’s *canar* in *Am.* 1.15.8). For the thought: ‘someone will also sing this song of mine’, cf. *N.* 4.13–16; *I.* 2.45 (also in conjunction with ‘no silence’), Fränkel, *Early Greek poetry* 464 n.44. In fact, after 92–5, there can be no doubt that only Hieron can be the object of praise here, not B. (although B. will get praise as author of the song, see 97–8n.); τις ὕμνησει ‘men will sing’ is the logical conclusion and climax of the sequence ‘Hieron has been victorious – success must be praised’, just as the sequence of 85–92 leads, also in three steps, to the statement ‘song feeds fame’.

σὺν δ’ ἄλαθ[εῖαι] ξαλῶν ‘with the truth of your successes’. καλῶν must be gen. plur. of καλὰ ‘successes’ (as in 5.51 μοῖραν καλῶν), and in particular ‘victories’ (as in 2.6). The combination of the two nouns is, as Bundy 61 (with n.69) has seen, a variation of the idea of ‘praise without stint and praise to match (σὺν τε δίκαι) the worth of the laudandus’; see also Bundy 58 n.54. More specifically, the meaning of ἀλήθεια is, for most poets after Hes. *Th.* 233–6, determined by the etymology (α privative + λήθη, λανθάνειν), which suggests that they understood the word in the sense of ‘not ignoring’ or even ‘revealing’; cf. Heitsch 1962: 26–33. That B. understood the word in this sense is confirmed by its opposition to οὐ φέρει κόσμον σιωπά (95) – great achievements must not remain hidden in obscurity or be forgotten, they must be brought out into the open and be displayed to the public. Prose authors use ἀλήθεια in the sense of ‘what is manifest, for all to see’: cf. Hdt. 2.119 τὴν ἀληθειὴν τῶν πρηγμάτων, 3.64 ὄνειρος (Kroisos’ dream) ὃς οἱ τὴν ἀληθειὴν ἔφαινε τῶν μελλόντων γενέσθαι κακῶν, Thuc. 2.41.2 who speaks of ἔργων ἀλήθεια in contrast to λόγων κόμπτος (‘the facts speak for themselves’), and Demosth. *or.* 19.81 ἡ γὰρ ἀλήθεια καὶ τὰ πεπραγμέν’ αὐτὰ βοᾷ, also Antiphon 2.4.1, Isocr. 2.46. Pindar, in his *Hymn to Zeus*, spoke of ἀληθείας ὥρας because they, as Hesych. α 2733 explains, κυκλισμῶι πάντα <φανερὰ add. Bergk> ποιοῦσιν (fr. 30).
97 ὕμνησει: the future is ‘a conventional element of the enkomastic style. It never points beyond the ode itself, and its promise is often fulfilled

by the mere pronunciation of the word' Bundy 21, who has collected many examples from Pindar; cf. also Slater 1969: 86–94. In B., ὑμνήσει refers to the present performance of the ode at Syracuse; it recalls ὕμνει in the proem (3), suggesting that this performance is the result of the chorus' exhortation to the Muse, Kleio.

97–8 μελιγλώσσου . . . Κηῖας ἀηδόνας 'of the honey-tongued Kean nightingale', i.e. the poet. He is 'honey-tongued' because his song has been inspired by 'Kleio, giver of sweetness' (γλυκύδωρε Κλεοῖ, 3) – another link between the concluding and the opening sentence of the ode. The nightingale stands for the poet in Hes. *Op.* 202–12, and many later poets have adopted the image: Alkman *PMG* 10.6–7; Sappho 136; Alc. 307 I(c); Sim. *PMG* 586; Thgn. 939; *PMG* 964b; Simias of Rhodes 26.4 (*Coll. Alex.* p. 119 = *AP* 15.27) Δωρίας ἀηδόνας may be a direct imitation of B.; *AP* 7.44; 7.80, etc. In his self-presentation, or σφραγίς (lit. 'seal'), B. appears much less self-assured than Pindar who wishes 'to consort with victors, conspicuous in my skill everywhere throughout Greece' (*O.* 1.115–16).

ODE 4: FOR HIERON'S CHARIOT VICTORY AT DELPHI

1. *The victory*

The date of Hieron's victory in the chariot race at Delphi is given by the scholia on Pindar's *Pythians* (II p.3 Drachmann) as the 29th Pythiad = 470 BCE. This victory, like his victory with the racehorse at Olympia in 476 (see on B. 5, p. 107), was celebrated by both B. and Pindar; while B. composed a short ode for a performance in Delphi, presumably immediately after the race, Pindar produced a long and elaborate ode for a performance at Aitna, the former Katana, where Hieron's son, Deinomenes, had been introduced as ruler on his father's behalf (*Pythian* 1). Pindar claims that the herald had announced the victorious Hieron as ruler of Aitna (*P.* 1.29–33), whereas B. praises him as ruler of Syracuse. This is strange, given that Hieron evidently attached great importance to being praised by Pindar as 'founder' of Aitna – how could B. have ignored this?

If Hieron was indeed announced by the herald as Αἰτναῖος, then B. (who may not have been present at the games in Delphi) would probably have been unaware of this, and whoever was in charge of the performance of this ode at Delphi would not have been able to alter the text accordingly.

It is, however, questionable whether in these circumstances his ode could have been performed at all. The alternative scenario seems more probable: Hieron was officially announced as Συρακόσιος, so B.'s ode conforms to the announcement at Delphi, whereas Pindar's first *Pythian*, performed at Aitna, conforms to Hieron's wish to create the impression, at least in Aitna and probably all over Sicily, that he had been officially honoured as master of Aitna. This would be an interesting case of Pindar manipulating the facts in order to further his client's political ambitions. The official list of *Olympic* victors in *POxy.* II 222 always lists Hieron as Συρακόσιος, col. i 19 (476), 32 (472), 44 (468), which would be strange if the records kept at Olympia had listed him as Αἰτναῖος. The scholia to *P.* 2 and 3 also refer to him as Συρακούσιος (II p. 30 and 61 Drachmann), only those to *P.* 1 as Αἰτναῖος (II p. 8 and 16 Drachmann) which is probably an inference from Pindar's verses, *P.* 1.27–32.

It therefore seems likely that Hieron had commissioned the long ode for his victory celebration in Aitna from Pindar with a request that he be referred to as founder and master of Aitna, whereas B. had either sent his short ode in advance of the race, expecting Hieron's chariot to win, or had travelled to Delphi to compose and perform it there immediately after the race, but in either case had not received instructions regarding Aitna.

Hieron's chariot victory of 470 was his third success at the Pythiads (B. 4.4); before this, he had twice won the horse race (κέλης), in the 26th and 27th Pythiads (482 and 478); at least the second of these victories was due to his outstanding stallion Pherenikos (see introd. to ode 5). B. even claims that Hieron's chariot victory could have been his fourth triumph here if a god (? see on lines 11–13) had held the scales of Justice. The missing victory might have been in a horse race, or a chariot race at a previous Pythiad: at one of these, his younger brother Polyxalos won the chariot race and dedicated a splendid group of bronze statues, of which the famous charioteer, fragments of the horses, and an inscribed limestone block of the base have been recovered. Cf. Chamoux, *L'aurige* 51–82; on the base and inscription: 17–31. The surviving part of the inscription, the right-hand halves of two hexameters, has been altered, but the original text of the first line had not been completely erased; on the possibility that there may have been a link between the alteration and the fourth Pythian victory which Hieron failed to achieve (or chose to forgo ?), see Maehler 2002: 19–21.

2. *Structure*

Like odes 6, 7, and 8, this ode consists of only one pair of strophes. It was not until 1938 that Medea Norsa recognized and acquired from a dealer in Cairo two fragments of the great London papyrus **A**, the first of which, published as *PSI* XII 1278A, has been fitted into the bottom part of its ninth column; it contains the middle portions of B.4.4–12. The result of this addition has been that it can now be seen much more clearly how closely the two strophes are interrelated; there are close links between responding verses in terms of both metre and content. For example, lines 1–3 say that Apollo ‘honours’ (γεραίρει) Hieron, ‘the city’s righteous ruler’; the responding lines 11–13 say that ‘we’ (= the chorus) ‘would honour him for the fourth time if a god (?) had held up the scales of Justice’. The central parts of both strophes (4–6 and 14–16) refer to the present victory that is now being celebrated (5 αἰδεῖται ≈ 14–18 πάρεστι<ν> . . . αἰδεῖν, and 6 ἄρετᾷ responds with 16 στεφάνοις. Indications of localities also correspond: 4 Apollo’s temple ≈ 14 Kirrha. Finally, the opening sentence ‘Apollo loves (φιλεῖ) Syracuse and honours Hieron’ is echoed by the last one: ‘What better than to be beloved by the gods (φίλον ἔόντα) and to share in good things.’

1–2 Ἔτι Συρακοσίαν φιλεῖ πόλιν . . . Ἀπόλλων: a god’s special care for his or her favourite cult centre is often expressed as φιλεῖν, cf. [Hes.] fr. 240.5–6 Δωδώνη, . . . τὴν δὲ Ζεὺς ἐφίλησε, *h.Ap.* 138 (Φοῖβος) φίλησε δὲ κήροθι μᾶλλον (sc. Delos), Pind. *P.* 1.39 Φοῖβε . . . Κασταλίαν φιλέων. But Syracuse was not one of Apollo’s principal cult centres (although there was a temple of Apollo Temenites); Apollo’s care and protection, expressed as φιλεῖν, is devoted to Syracuse as the victor’s city. This is in accordance with Homer’s belief that some gods have a particular affinity not only to some outstanding mortals whom they help to protect, but also to peoples and their cities; he makes Achilles say (*Iliad* 16.94) that Apollo ‘loves’ the Trojans, and claims that the descendants of Tlepolemos of Rhodes ‘are loved’ by Zeus (*Il.* 2.668–9). In the same way, Apollo still (ἔτι) ‘loves’ Syracuse – ‘still’, after Hieron had been successful twice before.

2 χρυσοκόμας: golden hair is the privilege of gods and their horses, cf. West on Hes. *Th.* 947 and Kirk on *Il.* 4.2. This is particularly true of Apollo, who is often referred to as ‘the golden-haired’: cf. Alkman, *SLG* 1 (= 1 Calame) Χρυσοκόμα φιλόμολπε, Pindar, *O.* 6.41 and 7.32 ὁ χρυσοκόμας,

also *Paean* 5.41 and *P.* 2.16, and later in the Attic drinking song *PMG* 886.2 and the *Paean PMG* 950b.

3 ἀστυθέμιν ‘righteous ruler’, only here; one of the rare compounds in B. made up of two nouns, and the only one having –θεμῖς as its second component, other than proper names like Χρυσόθεμῖς, Δαμόθεμῖς, etc.

τέ[ρω]να γεραίρει: see below on 13.

4 τρίτον γάρ: Hieron’s racehorse had won at Delphi twice before, in 482 and 478, so this chariot victory of 470 is his third hippic victory in the Pythian games. On the function of γάρ in such contexts, see on ode 3.5.

παρ’ [ὀμφα]λόν: the stone ‘navel’ in the temple of Apollo at Delphi was thought to be the centre of the world, according to Pausanias (10.16.3), who may, however, have seen only the marble copy on the temple terrace. The original was found in 1913 at the south wall of the cella of the temple, cf. Courby, *La terrasse du temple* 69–78, figs. 64–9. Strabo refers this honour (τιμή) to the temple itself (τῷ ἱερῷ τούτῳ, 9.3.6 p. 419), as does Pindar in *Paean* 6.17, see Radt ad loc.

ὑψιδείρου χθονός ‘of the high-ridged land’, a reference to the high cliffs of the Phaidriades which rise up to 300 metres above the sanctuary.

6 ἄρ[ετᾷ] σὺν ἵππων: σὺν in the sense of ‘thanks to’, as often in Pindar (*N.* 1.9; 10.48; *P.* 11.48; ἄμφ’ ἄρετῃ *P.* 1.80 and 2.62).

7–10 The Florentine fragments of papyrus **A**, inserted here, have helped to elucidate these lines, making it clear that the cock (ἀλέκτωρ, 8) of the Muse, Ourania, represents the poet, as does the nightingale in ode 3.98 and the bee in ode 10.10. Even so, the loss of the beginnings of lines 7–12 is still a serious obstacle to the understanding of this passage. Although ἀλλ’(9) implies a contrast to the preceding statement, it cannot have been a negative one because at the beginnings of lines 7 and 9 no long syllables (such as οὐ or μή) can be supplied. Snell’s supplements (7) ξ[λακε δ’] . . . (9) φρενόθ[εν] or ξ[θελε δ’] . . . [παρέμ]εν are unsatisfactory, the first one because it does not provide a contrast to 9–10 ἀλλ’ ἐκ[όν]τι νόωι . . . ἐπέσεισεν ὕμνους, the second because it does not say what ‘Ourania’s cock’ would have wanted to ‘leave out’. The contrast may have been between past and present: e.g., ξ[λακε δ’] . . . [ποτέ μ]έν· ἀλλ’ ἐκ[όν]τι νόωι [αὔθ’ ἄβρο]ύς (or [νῦν νέο]ύς) ἐπέσεισ[εν] ὕμνους. This would mean that the ‘cock’ had ‘crowed’ once before, i.e. in 476 when he celebrated Hieron’s Olympic victory (see on ode 5), but now he has ‘again’ (?) showered him with praise (‘hymns’). The

first two stanzas of fr. 20C provide a close parallel, as does ode 6, where the present victory is similarly contrasted to the previous ones (6.6 αἰσάν ποτ' Ὀλυμπίαι . . . 10 σὲ δὲ νῦν . . .). A very similar contrast between 'before' (μέν) . . . and 'now again' (αὖτε) is used by Pindar in *I.* 6.3–5 ἐν Νεμέαι μὲν πρῶτον, ὦ Ζεῦ, τὴν ἄωτον δεξάμενοι στεφάνων, νῦν αὖτε Ἰσθμοῦ δεσπότῃ κτλ.; further parallels for contrasting μὲν . . . αὖτε can be found in Denniston 376.

7 ξ[. . .]: ξ[λακε δ'] would fill the gap which corresponds to that of line 12 (see the facsimile in *PSI* xii pl.5), whereas ξ[κλαγε δ'] would be too long. The verb λάσκειν (literally 'to scream') is used of other birds: a falcon (*Il.* 22.141), and a nightingale (Hes. *Op.* 207, and *SLG* 460.8 ἀηδονὶς ὦδε λέλακε); it is also used for mantic utterances, as in Aesch. *Cho.* 35. Cf. ἱμερόφων<ος> ἄλέκτωρ in Simonides (*PMG* 583 = Athen. 9.374d); although Athenaeus does not indicate the context, this image may also have referred to the poet; see also Gow on Theocritus 7.47f.

7–8 ἀ[ναξιφόρ]μιγγος: supplied by Maas, cf. Pindar, *O.* 2.1; all other compounds beginning with ἀναξι– in B. are ἄπαξ εἰρημένα, presumably coined by him.

10 ἐπέσεισεν: the commentary of papyrus B, *POxy.* 2367 fr.5, seems to have explained the verb 'metaphorically . . . in the sense of "to shower with"' (ἐπισκ[εδάσαι, or ἐπισκ[εδάννυσι?]). The idea behind this metaphor is that of the φυλλοβολία, see on ode 11.17–20.

11–13 ἔτι δὲ τέτραπετον . . . κ' ἐγερα[ίρ]ομεν is evidently the main clause following the conditional εἴ τις . . . εἴλακε: 'if someone . . . , we would praise Hieron for the fourth time', i.e. an unfulfilled (or 'contrary to fact', *irrealis*) conditional clause. Who is τις? Either (a) one of the judges who denied Hieron a fourth victory, possibly the one with the racehorse after he had already won the chariot race (so Gallavotti 1944: 4–6 with reference to c. 11.24ff.); or (b) a god: εἴ τις ὁρ[θὰ θεὸς] . . . τάλαν[τα] Snell; (b) is supported by all the early parallels of τάλαντα ἔλκειν: in *Il.* 8.69 = 22.209; 16.658; 19.223; *h.Merc.* 324; Archil. 91.30 and Theognis 157 it is always Zeus who holds up the scales, as in Triphiod. 506–7 and Nonnos, *Dion.* 2.553. Moreover, to say 'had a judge held up the scales' (or perhaps 'dragged them down', i.e. put weight on them, as in Hdt. 1.50.3 εἰκόνα . . . ἔλκουσαν σταθμὸν τάλαντα δέκα, cf. 1.51.2, i.e. in Hieron's favour) would imply that Hieron could have gained a fourth victory only through favouritism or bribery; such an allegation would have been completely out of place in an ode praising Hieron's success. It must be the other way round: 'If

a god had lifted up the straight (= uncorrupted) scales of Dike', Hieron might have achieved a fourth victory. This seems to imply either an unfair decision, or a very close one, or possibly – if the alteration of the Polyzalos inscription is relevant here – a political deal by which Hieron ceded a victory to his younger brother for some favour; see Maehler 2002: 21. For whatever reason Hieron failed to win a fourth victory at Delphi, B. seems to have implied that as far as Dike was concerned, he would have deserved to win it.

13 Δεινομένεός κ' ἔγερα[ίρ]ομεν νίον· echoes ἴ[ρω]να γεραίρει' in the responding verse of the first strophe (3), with punctuation in the papyrus after both, which makes it impossible to link 13 to the next lines.

14 †παρεστίν†: παρεστίαν pap., παρ' ἐστίαν Kenyon. The text of the papyrus cannot be right, as (1) the metre requires ~ – ~ (not ~ ~ –), and (2) the infinitives in 16 and 18 require a finite verb which can only have stood at the beginning of 14. Therefore Blass' correction πάρεστιν is necessary (cf. ode 3.67), and since a contrast is implied between the 'lost' victory and the actual victory being celebrated here, πάρεστιν δ' ἐν seems preferable to Blass's πάρεστίν νιν.

14–16 <ἐν> ἀγχιάλοισι Κ[ί]ρρας μυχοῖς . . . τάδε μῆσάμενον 'who has accomplished this in the seaside glens of Kirrha', i.e. three victories in the Pythian games, two with the racehorse and now one with the chariot. The 'seaside glens of Kirrha' correspond to παρ' [ὀμφα]λὸν ὑπιδείρου χθονός (4), the difference being that the victory celebration is taking place in the sanctuary above, while the chariot race and other contests, such as wrestling (see B. 1.19–20 and Pindar, *P.* 10.15–16), were held in the plain below near Kirrha, between Delphi and the Corinthian Gulf.

μῆσάμενον: for the meaning of μήδεσθαι τι 'to achieve something' cf. Pindar, *O.* 1.31–2 (Χάρις) ἄπιστον ἐμήσατο πιστὸν ἔμμεναι: in both passages, the derivation from μήδεα 'purposeful thoughts, planning' is clear; B. knew well that for success in the chariot race, careful planning and preparation were essential.

15 μοῦνον ἐπιχθονίων: a frequent topos in eulogies; cf. the epigram on Theogenes of Thasos whom the herald proclaimed twice ἐγ κύκλῳ μοῦνον ἐπιχθονίων | πυγμῆς παγκρατίου τ' ἐπινίκιον ἥματι τῷ τῷ (Ebert no. 37.8–9; similarly Ebert nos. 31.2; 33.3; 45.4; 67.7; parodied in *A.P.* 11.84). Records set in the ancient games were not measured in metres or seconds but in numbers of victories, which meant that it became increasingly difficult to match those won by the outstanding athletes of the sixth and early

fifth centuries. However much poets of victory odes or epigrams might have liked to lavish superlatives on their clients, they had to keep to the truth, as such claims were easily verifiable from the victory-lists; they therefore either qualify their superlative statements (B. 8.22–5 ‘no one among the Greeks . . . won more victories in equal time’), or they add up the whole family’s victories (Pindar, *N.* 6.25–6 and 58–63; Ebert no. 45.4), or they limit superlatives to contest (Ebert no. 67) or home town (Ebert no. 31.2). In claiming that Hieron was ‘the only mortal’ to have won three Pythian victories, B. refers to hippic contests but without explicitly qualifying his success, which he makes here *appear* as an absolute record (having made the qualification already in 6 ἄρ[ετῆι] σὺν ἱππῶν).

17 δύο τ’ ὀλυμπιονικ<ι>ας: corrected by Maas, cf. ἀεθλονικία Pindar, *N.* 3.7. These two victories are those of Hieron’s racehorse in 476, celebrated by B. 5 and Pindar’s *O.* 1, and 472 for which – strangely – no victory ode appears to have survived.

18–20 τί φέρτερον ἢ . . . παντο[δ]απῶν λαγχάνειν ἅπο μοῖρα[ν] ἐσθλῶν; ‘what better than to . . . win a share in all manner of blessings?’ Pindar ends his ode for the same victory with a very similar statement: τὸ δὲ παθεῖν εὖ πρῶτον ἀέθλων· εὖ δ’ ἀκούειν δευτέρα μοῖρ’· ἀμφοτέροισι δ’ ἀνὴρ | ὅς ἂν ἐγκύρῃσι καὶ ἔλῃσι, στέφανον ὕψιστον δέδεκται, *P.* 1.99–100.

θεοῖσιν φίλον ἔοντα: the reference to the gods’ favour harks back to the opening sentence, thus rounding off the ode and giving it a more general perspective: while it began by highlighting the Pythian chariot victory as tangible proof of Apollo’s favour, it ends with a reference to ‘a share in all kinds of blessings’, which must mean wealth, power, and glory.

ODE 5: FOR HIERON’S VICTORY WITH THE RACEHORSE

1. *Hieron’s Olympic victory with the racehorse*

The epigram preserved in Pausanias (8.42.9) and quoted on p. 79 was inscribed on the base of Hieron’s victory monument, dedicated at Olympia after his death in 467 by his son, Deinomenes. It states that Hieron gained three victories there, one with the chariot and two with the racehorse. Accordingly, the monument consisted of a bronze chariot with charioteer and four horses, flanked on either side by bronze racehorses with jockeys (παῖδες, Paus. 6.12.1); the former was made by the Aiginetan sculptor

Onatas, the latter by Kalamis, renowned for his equestrian bronze statues. The fact that two racehorses were dedicated suggests that one of their victories at Olympia was won by Pherenikos, the other by another horse. Therefore, B.'s ode 5 and Pindar's *O.* 1 must celebrate the same victory.

The dates of Hieron's two racehorse victories are given in the victory list *POxy.* II 222 col.i 19 and 32 as Olympiads 76 and 77, = 476 and 472 respectively. As neither B. nor Pindar refer to an earlier Olympic victory, the date of the victory celebrated by them must be the earlier one, 476; both attribute it to Hieron's famous stallion Pherenikos. B. 5.41 mentions a victory by the same horse at Delphi, and as the scholia (II p. 5 Drachmann) mention Hieron's successes in the horse-races of the 26th and 27th Pythiads (= 482 and 478), Pherenikos must have won at least the second of these.

2. *The myth*

The core of the mythical narrative in B. 5 is the report of Meleager's fate (97–154), which is framed by the dialogue between Herakles and Meleager's shade so as to make Meleager tell his own sad story, maximizing its emotional potential. Herakles' descent into Hades by order of Eurystheus, who had demanded that he bring back Kerberos, is referred to in Homer (*Il.* 8.364–9; *Od.* 11.621–6) but his encounter there with Meleager is not attested before B. and Pindar, fr. 249a. Pindar's version is paraphrased by the scholia ABDGe¹ on *Il.* 21.194: 'When Herakles descended to Hades to fetch Kerberos, he met Meleager the son of Oineus, who begged him to marry his sister, Deianeira. Having returned to the daylight, he hurried to Aitolia to her father, Oineus. When he heard that the girl was betrothed to Acheloios, the nearby river <god>, he wrestled with him, who had the shape of a bull, and after breaking off one of his horns he took the girl. It is said that this Acheloios received a horn from Amaltheia the daughter of Okeanos, which he gave to Herakles and received his own back . . . The story is in Pindar.' Apollodoros, in his account of Herakles' descent to Hades, also briefly refers to it, 2.5.12: 'When the shades saw him, they fled, with the exception of Meleager and Medousa the daughter of Gorgo.' While Pindar, according to the Homeric scholia, told the story up to and including Herakles' wrestling contest with the river god Acheloios, B. ends with Meleager mentioning his sister, Deianeira (175). Pindar makes Meleager suggest to Herakles that he marry his sister, Deianeira, who is being pursued by Acheloios; in B., by contrast, it is Herakles who addresses the fateful

question to Meleager, 'is there in Oineus' palace an unwedded daughter, resembling you in stature?' (165–8), thus expressing his admiration for (and erotic attraction to, see 168n.) the dead hero. Although Pindar's version is paraphrased by the scholia on *Il.* 24.194, it does not necessarily follow that Pindar invented it, for the story, or at least part of it, may have been told by Stesichoros in his *Kerberos*, or by some epic poet.

On the other hand, can we say whether Pindar's or B.'s version is the older one? In B., Herakles' question 'do you have a sister . . .' is motivated by his admiration for Meleager, whose account of the boar hunt and the ensuing battle had impressed him; B. thus offers a story that is coherent and logically motivated. Yet Pindar's story may have been the older one, and possibly quite different: e.g., Meleager's shade did not panic at the sight of Herakles because he recognized him and wanted to ask him to take care of his sister; he need not have told him of his own fate at all. If so – but all this is, of course, speculation – it may well have been B. who linked Herakles' encounter with Meleager in Hades to the Calydonian Boar Hunt by making Meleager's account of his own death prompt Herakles' fateful question. In his version, both heroes exemplify the statement that no mortal can be completely fortunate (53–5), so it seems logical that each should bring his own death upon himself: Meleager by killing his mother's brothers, Herakles by enquiring about Deianeira. As soon as her telling name ('man-destroyer') had been mentioned (173), B.'s account breaks off; there was no need to tell what she did: that story was well known, cf. [Hes.] fr. 25.20–5 and March, *The creative poet* 49–77.

The main story, that of the Calydonian boar and the fight over his hide, is first attested in poetry in Phoinix' speech in *Il.* 9.529–99, and in art on the François Vase (Florence, Museo Archeologico inv. 4209; see Simon, *Vasen* 69–77 and plates 51–7; Appendix no. 4). B.'s account agrees with Homer's in that (a) the fight between the Aitolians and the Kuretes is 'about the hide' (*Il.* 9.548 ἀμφὶ σὺδ' κεφαλῇ καὶ δέρματι λαχνήνenti, B. 5.124 περὶ δ' αἰθωνος δορᾶς) and (b) Meleager kills one or more of his mother's brothers. The main difference is that in Homer his death is caused by his mother's curse; how he died remains unclear: τῆς δ' . . . Ἑρινὺς ἔκλυε, *Il.* 9.571, while in the *Minyas* (Paus. 10.31.3 = fr. 5, *PEG* p.138 Bernabé) and in [Hes.] frs. 25.12 and 280.2 he is killed by Apollo. In B., however, it is the burning of the log by Althaia that ends his life. This version is also attested by Phrynichos' *Pleuromiai* (*TrGF* 3 F 6), but Pausanias adds that it was well known before

Phrynichos' time (10.31.4). This version was followed also by Aesch. *Cho.* 604–11, by Diodoros 4.34.6, and many later authors. March, *The creative poet* 44–6 has made a strong case for regarding Stesichoros as the poet who first introduced this motif; her main argument is that in his 'Boar Hunters' (Συνοθηῖραι, *PMG* 222), the Θεστιάδαι, Althaia's brothers, are mentioned: 'Their presence must mean that here they will be killed by Meleagros, and that in return he must be killed through his mother's anger – and this, surely, by the burning of the brand' (46).

3. Structure

The structure of this ode is symmetrical, the narrative section forming its centre-piece, preceded and followed by passages of praise for the victor, each followed by general statements ('*gnomai*'). The opening section ('*prooimion*') and the conclusion, linked by the same motifs, complete the 'frame' around this very clear structure which resembles that of Pindar's *O.1* in its simplicity. Its sophistication lies in the correspondences between its parts and in their recurrent proportions.

The proem, rather unusually, begins with an address to Hieron and a flattering reference to his understanding of poetry. This leads to the motif of the poet's willingness to praise (9–16), which is echoed at the end (195–7), and of the vast potential for praise which Hieron's success is offering him. This is illustrated by the seemingly 'Homeric' simile of the eagle (16–36), which accounts for the unusual length of the proem (36 verses out of 200, = 18%).

The conclusion (191–200) resumes the 'willingness' motif introduced by the *gnome* (187–190), ending, as did the proem (36), with a prayer for god's favour and protection. The correspondences between the two sections are marked, as often in B., by verbal and thematic similarities: 10–12 ὕμνον . . . ξένος . . . πέμπει and 14–16 ἐθέλει . . . αἰνεῖν Ἱέρωνα → 195–7 πείθομαι . . . γλῶσσαν . . . πέμπειν Ἱέρωνι; 13–14 Οὐρανίας . . . θεράπων → 192–3 πρόπολος Μουσᾶν; 31 κέλευθος → 196 κελεύθου.

The proem is followed by the first praise passage (37–49), anticipated by ἔκατι Νίκας (33) and marked off by the names Pherenikos and Hieron. The link to the narrative section is provided by the statement which it illustrates (50–5). This statement, almost a *leitmotiv* of the Meleager story, serves as contrast, or 'dark foil', for the second praise passage (182–6) where the names

Pherenikos and Hieron are again closely linked: by saying that the stallion brought Hieron εὐδαιμονίας πέταλον, B. creates a very strong contrast to the sombre statement of 50–5. This statement, apart from introducing and interpreting the subsequent mythical section, also has a formal function in that it recalls, in μοῖράν τε καλῶν ἔπορεν (51), the opening word (εὐμοιρε), thus concluding the first part (proem and first praise) of the ode.

Like the ode as a whole, its mythical section (56–175) is also clearly structured. It begins with a relatively long introduction (56–77, i.e. 22 lines, or again 18%, of the total of 120 lines of the narrative section). The recurrence in this part of exactly the same proportion as that of the proem to the ode as a whole, 18% in either case, can hardly be a coincidence; it shows a remarkable degree of sophistication.

The main part of the mythical narrative is a sequence of five direct speeches, of which the third is Meleager's long monologue (93–154); it is preceded and followed by Herakles' questions (86–92 and 159–69) which are in turn preceded and followed by Meleager's address (78–84) and answer (170–5). The structure of the narrative section thus repeats that of the ode itself. It is also remarkable for the poet's choice of his literary models in elegiac and epic poetry, see 160–2n. and 162–4n.

1–16 The first part of the unusually long proem is a kind of dedication to the *laudandus*, marked off by the vocative at the beginning (Εὐμοιρε . . . στραταγέ, 1–2) and the name (ἱέρωνα, 16). After the reference to Hieron's appreciation of poetry (3–6) it develops the 'willingness' motif (ἔθελει . . . αἰνεῖν, 14–16) which recurs in the concluding section (187–97), rounding off the ode thematically.

1–2 Εὐμοιρε [Σ]υρακ[οσίω]ν . . . στρατα[γ]έ: εὐμοιρος is someone who has received a good portion or share; μοῖρα tends to be qualified, e.g. μοῖρα καλῶν Pindar, *I.* 5.15, similarly *N.* 10.20, *B.* 4.20. Hieron receives similar praise from Pindar, *P.* 3.84–6 τὴν δὲ μοῖρ' εὐδαιμονίας ἔπεται· λαγέταν γάρ τοι τύραννον δέρεται, εἴ τιν' ἀνθρώπων, ὁ μέγας πότμος. The idea of Hieron's 'good share of blessings' is echoed at the end of the ode in πυθμένες . . . ἐσθλ[ῶν], ending on a similar note.

ἵπποδινήτων: only here and in the word-list *SH* 991 = *PHibeh* 172 col.ii 19, presumably from B. Adjectives in –τος can have active or passive meaning, according to circumstances; cf. Chantraine, *Morphologie* 284; E. Fraenkel on Aesch. *Ag.* 12 (νυκτίπλαγκτον . . . εὐνήν) with bibliography.

στρατα[γ]έ: this term is discussed by Jebb 465–7 who concludes ‘that στραταγέ is merely a general designation, ‘war-lord’, and does not refer to a special office’. The two vocatives, εὔμοιρε and στραταγέ, anticipate the two themes of praise, Hieron’s success at Olympia and his military power, which will be taken up by Νίκη and Ἄρης in 33–4.

3–6 γνώσηι . . . ὀρθῶς: after the references to Hieron’s victory and, generally, his privileged position (εὔμοιρε) and his military record (στραταγέ), he is complimented on his connoisseurship of poetry. Pindar, in his ode for the same victory, pays him a very similar compliment, *O.* 1.103–5: πέποιθα δὲ ξένον | μὴ τιν’ ἀμφοτέρα καλῶν τε ἴδριν ἴδματ’ καὶ δύναμιν κυριώτερον | τῶν γε νῦν κλυταῖσι δαιδालωσέμεν ὕμνων πτυχαῖς ‘I am confident that there is no other host both more expert in noble pursuits and more lordly in power alive today to embellish in famous folds of hymns’. Both poets are unashamedly elitist in assuming that their poetry is not for the masses but for the few who have sophisticated understanding and taste, see 3.85n.

4 ἄγαλμα ‘delight’, aptly defined by Apoll.Soph. p.6.30 = Hsch. α 263 πᾶν ἐφ’ ᾧ τις ἀγάλλεται (cf. ἀγάλλειν ‘to adorn’ in Pindar. *O.* 1.86). B. uses the noun in the sense of ‘monument’ in 1.184 (εὐκλείας ἄ[γαλ]μα), in fr. 20B.5 metaphorically for ‘song’; both meanings are implied in 10.11–14 ἀθάνατον Μουσᾶν ἄγαλμα . . . τεὰν ἀρετὰν μαυῖον ἐπιχθονίοισιν ‘an undying ornament of the Muses . . . informing mortals of your prowess’.

4–5 τῶν γε νῦν αἶ τις ἐπιχθονίων: cf. Pindar, *O.* 1.105 quoted above. Statements implying, or amounting to, a superlative are often qualified by τῶν νῦν, cf. E. Fraenkel on Aesch. *Ag.* 532 with further references.

αἶ = εἰ in Aeolic and West Greek (‘Doric’) dialects; cf. 17.64 where B. adopts the Homeric αἶ κε (*Il.* 4.249 ὄφρα ἴδῃτ’ αἶ κ’ ὕμιν ὑπέροσχηι χεῖρα Κρονίων), but αἶ τις is not Homeric: it appears for the first time in Ibykos (if the lines are by Ibykos, *SLG* 221 = *POxy.* 2637 fr. 1a.33). In B., however, αἶ τις ἐπιχθονίων is used for emphasis, as in Soph. *Trach.* 8, Ar. *Pl.* 655; for further examples see Thesleff, *Intensification* 190 § 381.

6–7 φρένα δ’ εὐθύδικ[ο]ν: fair-mindedness is one of the compliments that tyrants often receive from poets: B. calls Hieron ἀστύθεις 4.3, Pindar refers to his θεμιστεῖον . . . σκᾶπττον *O.* 1.12, cf. *P.* 3.71 and *P.* 1.86; also *O.* 2.6 (Theron), *P.* 4.280 (Damophilos), *P.* 5.28–29 (Battiadaí), *P.* 6.48 (Thrasymboulos).

εὐθύδικ[ο]ν: the compound occurs here for the first time, though as a name it is attested earlier, as E. Fraenkel pointed out (on Aesch. *Ag.* 761): Euthydikos dedicated a kore at Athens (Akropolis Museum inv. 686 + 609;

Boardman, *Sculpture* fig.160), dated c. 490 BCE; the inscription on the base is *IG I² 589*.

φρένα . . . ἀτρέμ' ἀμπαύσας μεριμνᾶν 'rest your mind in ease from its cares'. The idea that song provides a respite from cares and worries goes back to Hes. *Th.* 55: Mnemosyne bore the Muses to Zeus, λησμοσύνην τε κακῶν ἀμπαυμά τε μερμηράων, see West ad loc. with further references.

8 δεῦρ' <ᾗ> ἄθρησον νόωι: the papyrus has δευραθρησον, but the responding lines (– – – – –) show that this line is one syllable short. The missing syllable might be restored (a) by adding a preposition to the verb, e.g. <ἐσ>- or <ἐπ>ἄθρησον, or (b) before νόωι, e.g. <σύν> or <ἐν> νόωι, or (c) a particle after δεῦρ'.

(a) is unlikely because ἐσ- or ἐπαθρεῖν means 'to look at' and would require an object; moreover, when the verb is used in its extended meaning 'to see in the mind', it is used in the simple form (Soph. *OT* 1305, *OC* 1032, Eur. *Ba.* 1281). (b) <σύν> νόωι violates 'Maas's Bridge' (see Maas, *Greek Metre* § 48: in dactyloepitrites, words or word-groups should not end before – – || if the preceding *anceps* is long, i.e. . . . – – – ||), εὐνόως and εὐνοέων are prose words, and <ἐν> νόωι means 'in one's intention', as in ἐν νόωι ἔχειν, not 'intellectually'. B. is the first to use the verb in this sense: this is why he adds νόωι 'look here *with your mind!*' – only the simple instrumental dative will do, cf. Hdt. 3.41.1 νόωι λαβών, *AP* 7.234.3 ἔδρακε θυμῶι. I have therefore adopted (c): δεῦρ' <ᾗ> ἄθρησον νόωι, cf. *Od.* 8.145 δεῦρ' ἄγε καὶ σύ . . . πείρησαι ἀέθλων, also [Hes.] fr. 302.2.

9–10 ἦ σὺν Χαρίτεσσι: for affirmative ἦ, see Denniston, *Particles* 280–2; cf. Pindar, *P.* 6.1 Ἀκούσαςτ' ἦ γάρ κτλ.

ὑφάνας ὕμνον 'having woven a song of praise'. The metaphor (also in Pindar, fr. 179) is inspired by an etymology which derived ὕμνος from ὑφαίνειν 'to weave', see 19.6–9n.

12 ἐς κλυτὰν πέμπει πόλιν: the transmitted text is πεμπεῖ κλεινὴν ἐς πόλιν, which cannot be correct: (1) The responding lines are all (except 27, on which see below) one syllable shorter: – – – – – ||; (2) it violates 'Maas's Bridge' (see above, 8n.); (3) the repetition κλεινὴν → κλεινός (14) is awkward. The easiest correction is ἐς κλυτὰν πέμπει πόλιν (Maas). The first strophe is a kind of *propemptikon* for the ode; at its end, the 'sending' theme recurs once more in πείθομαι . . . πέμπειν ἱέρωνι (195–7).

13–14 Οὐρανίας . . . θεράπων: in 192–3, Hesiod is referred to as πρόπολος Μουσῶν whom B. follows (see on 195 πείθομαι). The idea that poets are 'servants' of the Muses was made popular by Hes. *Th.* 100, see West ad loc. with references.

14 ἐθέλει (εθελει δε pap.): Walker 1897: 856 deleted δὲ here and μετ' in 30 (see below). The sentence beginning with ἐθέλει 'caps' the first strophe: 'Lord of Syracuse, look here! A poet is sending a song to your city: he wants to praise Hieron'. This 'capping' function of the 'willingness' theme would be obscured if it were connected by δὲ – it has to be an *asyndeton explicativum*, which is essentially a rhetorical device designed to place emphasis on the last element of a sequence of sentences by omitting any connecting particle (on B.'s and Pindar's use of asyndeta, see Maehler, *Asyndeton* 421–30). Scribes, unaware of its function, often insert δέ, γέ, or τε also in manuscripts of Pindar (*O.* 1.71; 6.72–4; 10.71; *P.* 3.105; 4.179; 8.43; *N.* 6.8; 8.37, etc.); cf. Barrett on Eur. *Hipp.* 40 and 1280.

16–30 The function of the beautiful simile of the eagle, inserted here between the 'willingness' theme (9–16) and the 'facility' theme (31–6), is to create high expectations of the way in which the poet will fulfil his promise to praise Hieron. It is also an impressive demonstration of the poet's self-confidence: 'I am willing to praise Hieron – I am like the eagle who flies unimpeded over mountains and the sea – thus, I have countless ways of praising the sons of Deinomenes.' A very similar image is employed by Dante, *Inferno* 4.94–6: 'Così vidi adunar la bella scola | Di quel signor dell'altissimo canto, | Che sovra li altri com'aquila vola', as Taccone, *Bacchilide* 47 has pointed out. The image of the eagle may be inspired by Homeric similes (*Il.* 22.308–11, cf. 21.251–2); here, as in Pindar (*N.* 3.80–2; 5.19–21; *O.* 2.86–8), it represents the poet. B. seems to have modelled his simile on the scene in the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter* (*h.Dem.* 375–83) where Kore on her chariot flies over sea, land and mountain peaks; B. substitutes the eagle for the divine horses but keeps the crucial element of the image, the ease of the flight. The limitless void of the sky indicates the vast potential for praise which Hieron offers the poet.

16–17 βαθὺν δ' αἰθέρα . . . τάμνων 'cleaving the deep heavens', cf. *h.Dem.* 383 ἥερα τέμνον. Ibykos seems to have used this phrase, perhaps of Bellerophon (Lobel), in *SLG* 223(a) col. II 5–7 = *POxy.* 2637 fr. 5; it is parodied from Euripides' *Andromeda* (frs. 123–4) in Aristoph. *Thesm.* 1098–1102.

20 ἐρισφαράγου 'loud-thundering', cf. ἐσφαράγιζον' ἐδόνουν, μετὰ ψόφου ἦχουν Hesych. ε 6437, and West on Hes. *Th.* 706 on the meaning of σφαραγίζειν.

23 λιγύφθογγοι 'clear-voiced', always said of heralds in Homer, here of small birds (like the nightingale in Ar. *Birds* 1380), in B. 10.10 of the poet referred to as a 'bee' (λιγύφθογγον μέλισσαν). The contrast between the eagle and the smaller birds may have become proverbial, as the close

parallel between 21–3 and [Hes.] fr. 33a.14–15, the Lesbian *inc.auct.* fr.10 L.-P., and Pind. *P.* 5.111–12 suggests. It also inspired Milton's image of the Nation in his *Areopagitica*: 'Methinks I see in my mind a noble and puissant nation rousing herself . . . methinks I see her as an eagle mewing her mighty youth . . . while the whole noise of timorous and flocking birds . . . flutter about' (John Milton, *Complete Prose Works* II 558).

26–7 *δυσπαίπαλα κύματα* 'the rugged waves'; the epithet is first found in Archil. 190 W., a variation on epic *παιπαλός*, said of mountains (*Il.* 13.17, *Od.* 10.97), rocky islands (*Il.* 13.33 etc.) and mountain paths (in similes, *Il.* 12.168, 17.743, *Od.* 17.204), of waves only here. B. seems to have taken it in the sense of 'difficult' (to traverse), as Leumann, *Hom. Wörter* 237 has pointed out.

νωμαῖ (*νωμαι* | *ται* **A**: *νωμα* | *ται* **A**¹: *ται* del. Walker): Antimachos uses the middle with the meaning 'to distribute' (fr. 22 *ἡγεμόνεσσιν* . . . *κήρυκες* . . . *κύπελλα* . . . *νωμήσαντο*), but in the sense required here ('to move') the middle voice is not found before Quintus of Smyrna (3.439 *σάκος* . . . *νωμήσασθαι*); here it would be against the metre (see above on 11–12), and parallels like Soph. fr. 941.11 (*Kypris*) *νωμαῖ δ' ἐν οἴωνοισι τοῦκείνης πτερόν* and *AP* 9.339 *πτερόν αἰθέρι νωμῶν* also suggest that the active is required here. The fact that the scribe had originally written *νωμαι* and then crossed out the iota may indicate that *ται* was a later addition in his exemplar.

ἐν ἀτρύτῳ χάει: as B. uses the epithet of time in the sense of 'limitless' in 9.80 (*[ἐξ ἄτ]ρυτον χρόνον*), he seems to have understood it as a synonym of *ἀτρύγετος*, cf. *αἰθέρος ἀτρυγέτοιο* (*Il.* 17.425 etc.); he may have been familiar with the etymology preserved by Herodian (*EM* 167.28 = *Hdn.* 2.p.284 Lentz) which derived *ἀτρύγετος* from *τρύεσθαι* 'to be worn out'; cf. Pind. *P.* 4.178 *ἄτρυτον πόνον* 'unceasing toil', also Soph. *Aias* 788 and *Hdt.* 9.52. The explanation *ἀκαταπόννητος* found in the scholia on Homer (schol. D on *Il.* 1.316; schol. *Od.* 2.370), *Apoll.Soph.* 46.16, *Hesych.* α 8167 etc. is based on the same etymology.

29–30 *ἀρίγνωτος ἀνθρώποις ἰδεῖν* (*μετ' ἀνθρώποις pap.*): *μετ'* was deleted by Walker (see 14n.), rightly, because *μετά* + dative always means 'amongst', 'in the company of' (*Od.* 9.369 etc.; cf. *h. Ven.* 103 where Anchises asks Aphrodite *δός με μετὰ Τρώεσσιν ἀριπρεπεῖ ἔμμεναι ἄνδρα*). That cannot be said of the eagle who does not mingle with men but flies high in the sky, 'a conspicuous sight for men'. The deletion of *μετ'* (and of *δέ* in 14) normalizes the metre; there is no reason to assume metrical licences here.

31–6 This passage has a double function: (a) it makes clear the meaning and relevance of the eagle simile (it illustrates the ease with which the poet can find ways to praise Hieron's success), and (b) it provides an elegant transition to the first praise passage (37–49), see above, p. 109.

31 τῶς νῦν . . . κέλευθος: see on 19.1–2. The image of 'countless paths in all directions' is a variation on the theme of 'ease in praise' which recurs in 195–7; for a discussion of Pindar's use of this theme, see Bundy 61–4.

33 κυανοπλοκάμουν: see on 11.83.

ἑκατι Νίκας: see on 11.9 σέθεν δ' ἑκατι.

34 χαλκεοστέρνου τ' Ἄρης: the compound, 'bronze-breasted', is found only here and in Phlegon, *FGHist* 257 F 36.3 χαλκόστερνοι δυνάμεις, after Homer's χάλκεος Ἄρης (*Il.* 5.704 etc.). Hieron's success is praised 'by the will of Victory (Νίκη) and Ares'; this takes up once more the twin themes of Hieron's success in the games and in war, referred to by εὔμοιρε and στραταγέ in the opening lines.

35–6 Δεινομένευσ . . . παῖδες: the plural, following the reference to 'bronze-breasted Ares', implies a reference to Gelon's and his brothers' victory over the Carthaginians at Himera on the north coast of Sicily in 480. Ten years later, Pindar also refers to their joint victory in *P.* 1.79 παρὰ . . . ἀκτὰν ἡμέρα παιδεσσιν ὕμνον Δεινομένευσ τελέσας, on which see *Hdt.* 7.165–7; *Diod.* 11.20.22; *Polyainos* 1.28.1. For this victory, they dedicated a golden tripod and a statue of Victory at Delphi, cf. *Diod.* 11.26 and *AP* 6.214 = *Epigr. graeca* 203–6 Page; see ode 3.17–19n.

ἀγέρωχοι 'noble', οἱ ἄγαν ἐνδοξοὶ καὶ ἐντιμοὶ *Hesych.* α 462.

μὴ κάμοι θεός: the wish for divine favour recurs in 197–200 where it specifically refers to peace and stability.

37–49 The description of the race, anticipated by ἑκατι Νίκας (33) and concluded with νίκαν ἱέρωνι . . . τιτύσκων (49), is the most vivid and detailed account of a victory anywhere in epinician poetry. Apart from a brief reference to the jockey, who remains anonymous (47), it focusses entirely on the racehorse; ξανθός 'chestnut' is common as a name for horses (*Il.* 19.400 etc.).

39 ἀελλοδρόμαν 'storm-paced', only here, a variation on epic ἀελλόπος (*Il.* 8.409 and 24.77, of Iris; *h. Ven.* 217 of horses, also *Sim. PMG* 515 and *Pind. N.* 1.6). The notion of 'storm' to indicate the speed of horses, taken up in 46, is also present in Homer's θεῖναι ἀνέμοισιν ὁμοῖοι, *Il.* 10.437.

40 εἶδε . . . χρυσόπαχυν Ἀώς: horse races took place early in the morning, cf. Weniger 1904: 133–4 (on Paus. 5.9.3); Ebert, *Olympia* 43; cf. B.11.22 and the epigram on a boy's victory in the pankration *IG XII* 3.390 (1st cent. BCE) ἡ μία δ' ὥς δις Δωροκλείδαν εἶδεν ἀεθλοφόρον. Pindar uses a similar phrase for Xenokrates' chariot victory in *I.* 2.18 ἐν Κρίσσι δ' εὖρυσθενὴς εἶδ' Ἀπόλλων νιν πόρε τ' ἀγαλῆαν. For the idea that a god 'looks at' a man when he grants him a favour, see ode 11.15–17n.

42 γαῖ δ' ἐπισκῆπτων πιφάυσκω 'resting my hand on the earth I proclaim'. The gesture means that the Earth, or some chthonic power, is called to witness a promise or an oath (*Il.* 14.271–6), or to help (*Il.* 9.568–9; *h.Ap.* 333; *Hdt.* 4.172.3). Pindar, too, likes to support praising statements by an oath (*O.* 2.92 and 6.20, *N.* 11.24) or by an assurance to be a truthful witness (*O.* 4.3–4 and 17–18, see Bundy, *Studia Pindarica* 60–1 n.66). In B., such strong statements tend to introduce superlatives (e.g., 1.159) or statements that amount to a superlative, see 11.24n.

43–5 οὐπω νιν . . . ὀρνύμενον is a clever way of saying 'no other horse was in front of him', i.e. he was in front from start to finish. This has a close parallel in an epigram from Pergamon commemorating the victory of Attalos, the adoptive son of Philetairos, the founder of the Attalid dynasty, with the colt chariot at Olympia in the first half of the third century, Ebert no.59.8–9: ὁ δ' Ἀττάλου ἴσος ἀέλλῃ | δίφρος ἀεὶ προτέραν ποσ[σ]ὶν ἔφαινε κόνιν, = Moretti, *Iscrizioni agonistiche* 37; cf. also Kall. fr. 254.7–10 (*SH* p. 101).

προτέ[ρω]ν 'in front of him': the accent in the papyrus on ἐ shows that it had the masculine form, not προτε[ρῶ]ν; besides, in choral lyric and in tragedy chariot horses are mares, single horses are stallions, see 3.3–4n.

46–8 ῥίπαῖ . . . ἔεται: ῥιπή is a 'gust' of wind in Homer (*Il.* 15.171 ὑπὸ ῥιπῆς . . . Βορέας) and Soph. *Ant.* 137 ῥιπαῖς ἐχθίστων ἀνέμων, cf. Pind. *P.* 9.48 and 4.195.

φυλάσσων 'means not merely "bearing his rider safe", but "attending to his guidance": the word κυβερνήταν brings this out' (Jebb).

48 νεόκροτον 'which brings new applause' (Campbell), 'greeted with fresh plaudits' (Jebb). In his victory odes, B. often highlights the reaction of others, e.g. spectators, to his *laudandus*' success, cf. 3.9 and 9.35.

49 ἱέρωνι . . . τιτύσκων: taken up by ἱέρωνι φέρων 185. These verbal repetitions signal to the audience that a section of the ode is being concluded as they create a kind of ‘audible frame’ around it, in this case framing the mythical narrative.

50–5 The gnomic statement serves a dual purpose: (1) it forms the transition from the first praise to the mythical section, while at the same time summing up the victor’s praise (ὀλβιος κτλ.); (2) it provides, right from the outset, the poet’s own interpretation of the myth which is about to be presented as an illustration of the *gnome*.

51 μοῖραν . . . καλῶν ‘a portion of successes’, not only victories in games but also, more generally, achievements and praise, cf. 4.18–20 and Pind. *I.* 5.12–15. The statement seems deliberately phrased in this general way, so as to apply not only to Hieron but also, by way of contrast, to Meleager and Herakles, neither of whom was ‘fortunate in all things’ (πάντα γ’εὐδαίμων), and whose fate did not allow them to ‘pass their lives in affluence’ (ἄφνεον βιοτὸν διάγειν).

52 ἐπιζήλωι: several compounds in –ζηλος are found in B. (πολύζηλος 11.63, πολυζήλωτος 10.48, 7.10, 1.184, 9.45), but none in Pindar (apart from ζαλωτός *O.* 7.6 in a comparison). It looks as if Pindar deliberately avoided any reference to ζήλος, which to him may have had a strongly negative connotation, as it does to Agamemnon in Aesch. *Ag.* 939–40, see E. Fraenkel ad loc.

53–5 οὐ . . . πάντα γ’ εὐδαίμων: no mortal can be ‘fortunate in all things’, he can only have ‘a portion of successes’ and not perfect happiness. This sombre statement sets the tone for the sad story that follows, which provides the dark background, ‘vicissitude foil’ in Bundy’s terminology, for the victory celebration and the second praise passage, see on 186 εὐδ[αιμονίας πέταλον.

56 τ[ὸν γάρ π]οτ’ ἐρειψιπύλαν: a tiny trace of the crossbar of τ is visible at the beginning of the line. The ‘gate-wrecker’ is Herakles; there was no need to name him, as everyone knew the story of Kerberos (see 60–21.) which was one of the most popular topics on sixth-century black-figure vases. The compound is found only here, but cf. ἐρειψ[ι]πύ[ρ]οις 13.167, ἐρειψίτοιχοι Aesch. *Septem* 883.

58–9 Διὸς] ἄργικεραύνου the compound, ‘thunderbolt-flashing’, is an epithet of Zeus in the *Iliad* (19.121, 20.16, 22.178), also in Pind. *O.* 8.3 and in B. 29.2.

Φερσεφόνας τανισφύρου Persephone has the same epithet, ‘slender-ankled’, in *h.Dem.* 2 and 77. The spelling τανι– for τανυ– is by dissimilation from –σφυρος, cf. τανίφυλλος.

60–2 The Kerberos story is mentioned in *Il.* 8.368, but what B. had in mind seems to have been *Od.* 11.623–5 where Herakles’ shade reports to Odysseus καὶ ποτὲ μ’ ἐνθάδ’ ἔπεμψε κύν’ ἄξοντ’· οὐ γὰρ ἔτ’ ἄλλον | φράζετο (sc. Eurystheus) τοῦδ’ τί μοι χαλεπώτερον εἶναι ἄεθλον. | τὸν μὲν ἐγὼν ἀνένεικα καὶ ἤγαγον ἐξ Αἴδου, ‘he once sent me hither to fetch the hound of Hades, for he could devise for me no other task mightier than this. The hound I carried off and led forth from the house of Hades.’ B. embroiders by adding a graphic compound (epic καρχαρόδοντα), by clarifying (ἐς φάος), and by adding the monster’s genealogy (62).

62 υἱὸν . . . Ἑχίδνας: in Hes. *Th.* 310–11, the offspring (τέκνα) of Echidna and Typhaon are the two dogs, Orthos and Kerberos, and Hydra. In early and classical Greek it is very unusual to refer to an animal, even a mythical one, as υἱός; Pegasus in Pind. *O.* 13.63 (υἱὸν . . . Γοργόνος) is a rare exception. In the Septuagint and New Testament it is not uncommon; examples include Ps. 28.1; Sir. 38.25; and Matth. 21.5. By calling Kerberos a ‘son’ of Echidna, B. may be trying to confer ‘heroic’ status on the monster; see also 104–5n.

65–7 οἶά τε φύλλ’ ἄνεμος . . . δονεῖ: οἶά τε is used adverbially, as in Alkman 56.4 and perhaps Ibykos *SLG* 166.7. The passage in B. is modelled on Homer’s famous lines *Il.* 6.146–9 οἷη περ φύλλων γενεή, τοίη δὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν. | φύλλα τὰ μὲν τ’ ἄνεμος χαμάδις χέει, ἄλλα δέ θ’ ὕλη | τηλεθόωσα φύει, ἔαρος δ’ ἐπιγίγνεται ὥρη | ὥς ἀνδρῶν γενεή ἢ μὲν φύει, ἢ δ’ ἀπολήγει. Cf. *Il.* 21.464–6; Mimn. 2.1–5; Musaios B5 = Clem. *Strom.* 6.5; Sim. 19 West; Ar. *Birds* 685–7; Ap.Rhod. 4.214–19; Virg. *Aen.* 6.309–12 (which inspired Milton, *Paradise Lost* 1.302 ‘thick as autumnal leaves that strew the brooks . . .’). The passage in B. is not a fully-fledged ‘Homeric’ simile; its purpose is to evoke the idea of a scrambling crowd (‘countless as leaves’, Jebb), and also that of the precariousness of the human condition, in line with the pessimistic interpretation of this image in most writers after Homer.

ἀργηστάς ‘bright, shining’, = ἀργής (cf. Soph. *OC* 670 ἀργῆτα Κολωνόν), or perhaps ‘clearly seen, distinct’, as suggested by Braswell on Pind. *P.* 4.8 ἐν ἀργινόνεντι μαστῶι.

69–70 θρασυμένονος . . . Πορθανίδα: Meleager, son of Oineus and grandson of Porthaon (the short form of the name, wrongly altered to

Πορθαονίδα by A³, is required by the metre; cf. Ἀλκμᾶν(α) for Ἀλκμάνονα in Pind. *P.* 8.46, Ἀλκμανιδᾶν *P.* 7.2).

71 Ἀλκμήνιος: Herakles, Alkmena's son; the matronymic is formed like Τελαμώνιος, Νηληϊος, Καπανήιος etc.; cf. Wackernagel, *Kl.Schr.* 1358–9 and *Syntax* II 68–9.

73 νευρὰν . . . κορώνας ('he put) the string on his bow-hook'. The image is modelled on *Od.* 11.605–8.

λιγυκλαγγῇ 'clear-twanging', only here and 14.14 λιγυκλαγγεῖς χοροί, perhaps coined by B. after the simile *Od.* 21.405–11 (cf. *Il.* 4.125).

74 χαλκεόκρανον 'bronze-headed', only here. In Homer, the arrow is χαλκήρης 'fitted to bronze' (*Il.* 13.650, *Od.* 1.262) or χαλκοβαρής 'top-heavy with bronze' (*Il.* 15.465, *Od.* 21.423).

75 εἶλετο ἰόν: B. seems to have believed, wrongly, that ἰός 'arrow' begins with *F*, through confusion with (F)ἰός 'poison' and (F)ἰόν 'violet'; see also on 17.131. This is strange in view of *Il.* 4.116 (Pandaros) σῦλα πῶμα φαρέτρης, ἐκ δ' ἔλετ' ἰόν.

78 νιν εὔειδώς προσεῖπεν 'knowing well, he addressed him', not 'spoke unto him, for he knew him well' (Jebb, who took νιν as object of both εἰδώς and προσεῖπεν). In Homer εἰδώς never refers to a person as object; it seems likely therefore that here, too, the participle is used absolutely, as in *Il.* 1.384; 13.665; *Od.* 2.170 (in all three cases, of special or superior knowledge): Meleager knows that it is pointless to shoot at shadows of the dead. The scene may have inspired Virgil, *Aen.* 6.290–4 where Aeneas, suddenly frightened, draws his sword against the shadows, *et ni docta comes tenuis sine corpore vitas | admoneat volitare, cava sub imagine formae, | inruat et frustra ferro diverberet umbras.*

80 γελανώσας . . . θυμόν 'calm your heart'; the verb, found only here, means 'to make γελανής' ('calm', Pind. *O.* 5.2; *P.* 4.181); see Braswell on Pind. *P.* 4.181(b): 'The adjective γελανής itself is ultimately related to γελάω (cf. Schwyzler 1513; Frisk, *Wörterbuch* and Chantraine, *Dict. s.v.* γελάω), the primary metaphorical meaning of which was 'shine'; see West on Hes. *Th.* 40 and Richardson on *h.Dem.* 14. A secondary development is the sense "to rejoice at" anything pleasant.'

84 οὐ τοι δέος 'you have nothing to fear' (τοι = σοι, cf. *Il.* 1.515 (Thetis to Zeus): ἐπεὶ οὐ τοι ἐπι δέος, 12.246 (Hektor to Poulydamas) σοὶ δ' οὐ δέος ἔστ' ἀπολέσθαι. The irony is that Herakles, the mightiest of heroes, is scared (like Odysseus in *Od.* 11.43) and has to be reassured by the dead Meleager's shadow.

86–8 τίς . . . ἐν ποίαι χθονί: a variation on the epic τίς πόθεν εἰς ἀνδρῶν; (*Od.* 1.170 etc.). As Herakles' question arises out of amazement and admiration, so does Apollo's, who enquires about Kyrene, having seen her wrestling bare-handed with a lion: τίς νιν ἀνθρώπων τέκεν; ποίας δ' ἄποσπασθεῖσα φύτλας | ὀρέων κευθμῶνας ἔχει σκιοέντων, | γέυεται δ' ἀλκᾶς ἀπειράντου; 'what mortal bore her? From what stock has she been severed that she lives in the glens of the shadowy mountains and puts to the test her unbounded valour?' (Pind. *P.* 9.33–5).

89–91 As Jebb has pointed out, Herakles naturally assumes that Meleager must have been killed by a great warrior whom Hera, Herakles' long-standing enemy, will now send forth against him (κείνον, 90); it is not until 136–44 that he learns that Meleager's own mother, Althaea, caused his death. 'The touch of poetical art given by κείνον is like that of Sophocles in the *Antigone* (v.248), when Creon, never dreaming that the breaker of his edict is a woman, asks τί φήεις; τίς ἀνδρῶν ἦν ὁ τολμήσας τάδε;' (Jebb).

90–1 ἐφ' ἀμετέραι . . . κεφαλᾷ 'against my life', cf. *Il.* 17.242 ὅσσον ἐμῇ κεφαλῇ περιδείδια, cf. *Od.* 2.237, *Soph. OC* 564.

91–2 τὰ δέ που . . . μέλει: cf. *Il.* 5.430 ταῦτα δ' Ἀρηϊ θοῶι καὶ Ἀθήνῃ πάντα μελήσει (also *Il.* 17.515; 15.231; 22.11; 23.724; *Od.* 17.601). In Homer, που 'I suppose' is often added in statements that seem plausible in themselves, yet are impossible to verify, e.g. concerning the intentions of gods, cf. Wackernagel, *Kl.Schr.* 701.

94–6 χαλεπὸν . . . ἐπιχθονίοις: modelled on *Od.* 3.143–7 where Agamemnon prepares to offer sacrifices to appease Athena's wrath and the poet comments: νήπιος, οὐδὲ τὸ ἥϊδῃ δ' οὐ πείσεσθαι ἐμελλεν' | οὐ γάρ τ' αἶψα θεῶν τρέπεται νόος αἰὲν ἐόντων. B. reverses this by putting the gnomic statement at the beginning of Meleager's long account, which illustrates and confirms it. The view that the gods are implacable is most strongly stated in Aeschylus, cf. *Supp.* 385–6 μένει τοι Ζηνὸς ἱκταίου κότος, δυσπαραθέλκτος παθόντος οἴκτοις and see E. Fraenkel on Aesch. *Ag.* 69–70 who saw in these passages a 'most decided conflict . . . with the convictions of popular belief and of the poet of the Λιταί (*Il.* 9.497ff.), whose lines are attacked on the same grounds by Plato's Adeimantos (*Rep.* 2.364d)'; Fraenkel also refers to *Prom.* 34 Διὸς γὰρ δυσπαραίτητοι φρένες and 184–5 ἀκίχητα γὰρ ἦθεα καὶ κέαρ | ἀπαράμυθον ἔχει Κρόνου παῖς.

97 καὶ γὰρ ἄν: examples are often linked to general statements by καὶ γὰρ, cf. Pind. *O.* 7.27, *P.* 9.42 etc., see E. Fraenkel on Aesch. *Ag.* 1040. Here the phrase takes the form of the *apodosis* to an unfulfilled

conditional clause: [‘if it were otherwise,] Oineus would have . . .’, cf. Pind. *O.* 9.29–31.

97–126 Meleager’s account closely follows *Iliad* 9.533–49: there, too, the *exemplum* is introduced by καὶ γάρ, but otherwise literal repetition is carefully avoided. Listeners who were thoroughly familiar with Homer’s account may have appreciated the choral poet’s technique of variation and embroidery.

97 πλάξιππος Οινεύς: the compound is Homeric, though not given to Oineus, who is ἵππηλάτα (*Il.* 9.581) and ἵππότα (*Il.* 14.117).

98–9 καλυκοστεφάνου σεμνᾶς . . . λευκωλένου: Artemis, who is the dominant figure of this story, gets three epithets here instead of one as in Homer (χρυσόθρονος, *Il.* 9.533).

102 φοινικονώτων ‘red-backed’, only here; B. was fond of colour compounds, see 11.97–8n.

104–5 ἔσχεν χόλον ‘she had conceived anger’, for Homer’s ἡ δὲ χολωσαμένη (*Il.* 9.538); Meleager does not say why, so that he can present his sad fate as totally undeserved and cruel, maximizing its potential for pathos. The audience may have remembered the reason given in Homer: Oineus had omitted to sacrifice to Artemis, *Il.* 9.534–7.

εὐρυβίαν . . . κάπρον: in epic and lyric poetry, this epithet is given to gods and heroes; in B. it gives the mighty boar heroic status. If some of the fragments of *POxy.* LVII 3876 belong to Stesichoros’ *Boar Hunters*, fr. 5.6 [εὐρυ]βίαν may refer to the boar.

ἀναιδομάχαν ‘a ruthless fighter’, only here, apparently coined by B. after Κυδοιμὸν ἀναιδέα διηιότητος *Il.* 5.593; see on 155 ἄδεισιβόαν.

107 πλημύρων σθένει ‘in the floodtide of his might’, for Homer’s σθένει βλεμεαίνων (of boars and lions: *Il.* 12.42, 17.20–2).

108 ὄρχους ‘vine-rows’; in *Il.* 9.540, the boar devastates an orchard (ἀλωήν), for which B. substitutes a vineyard, apparently because he is thinking of the etymology (from οἶνος) of the name, Oineus (cf. Hekataios *FGrHist* 1 F 15), who had received the vines from Dionysos (Apollod. 1.8.1).

109 σφάζε τε μήλα: in Homer, the boar destroys tall trees αὐτῆισιν ῥίζησι καὶ αὐτοῖς ἄνθεσι μήλων ‘with their roots and fruit-blossoms’, *Il.* 9.542. In B., the Homeric ‘apples’ become ‘sheep’ because in this way they can form a powerful *tricolon*: the boar destroys vines – sheep – even humans, demonstrating its supernatural strength, see 104–5n. In this, B. was followed by Apollod. 1.8.2 and Ovid, *Met.* 8.296.

111 Ἑλλάνων ἄριστοι: in Stesichoros' *Boar-hunters* (PMG 222), the hunters include Lokrians, Achaeans, Boiotians and Dryopes. Their names are listed in Apollod. 1.8.2, Ovid *Met.* 8.299–317 and Hyginus 173.

112–113 ἐνδυκέως . . . συνεχέως: the scholia BT on *Il.* 24.158 and on Nikand. *Ther.* 262 treat these words as synonymous, but in *Il.* 24.158 and 23.90 ἐνδυκέως seems to mean either 'kindly' or 'carefully' (the latter may be linked to the gloss δεύκει· φροντίζει in Hesych. δ 722). In *Od.* 14.109, however, it seems to mean 'eagerly' (Odysseus ἐνδυκέως κρέα τε ἤσθιε πίνε τε οἶνον | ἄρπαλέως); both B. and [Hes.] *Sc.* 427 seem to have adopted this meaning.

113–114 ἐπεὶ . . . κάρτος Αἰτωλοῖς ὄρεξεν: it was Meleager who killed the boar, after Atalante had first wounded it with an arrow; the hero modestly shares his triumph with the other Aitolians.

117 Ἀ[γκ]αῖον: he is Πλευρώνιος in *Il.* 23.635, but a son of Lykourgos from Arcadia in Apollod. 1.8.2 and, like several other 'boar hunters', one of the Argonauts, cf. Apollod. 1.9.16. On the François Vase, he is the dead man, inscribed ANTAIOS, under the boar, whereas a fragment of a dinos in a Swiss private collection (Bollingen, R. Blatter coll.; Appendix no. 5) shows him in a very similar position with his name correctly spelled (ANKAIOS).

Ἀγέλαον: he is a brother of Meleager only here and in Ant. Lib. 2.1 (Ἀγέλεως).

121–2 τοὺς δ' ὧλῃσε . . . [πάντα]ς (Kenyon), or [τῶν δ' ὧλῃσε . . . [πλεῦνα]ς 'more than these', if we accept Jebb's and Housman's supplements; but cf. Ant. Lib. 2.6 ἀπέθανον δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι παῖδες Οἰνέως μαχόμενοι 'the other sons of Oineus also died in the fight', which favours Kenyon's supplement.

οὐ γὰρ παῶ: a reminder of the cause of the disaster, echoing 97–9 (cf. *Il.* 9.547).

δαῖφρων: explained as 'expert' and 'fierce, warlike' in Schol. BT on *Il.* 2.23 and in Hesych. δ 122, whereas Apoll. Soph. 56.18 and Schol. D on *Il.* 2.23 give only the second meaning, which B. follows here and in 137 (of Althaia).

123 ἄγροτέρα: 11.37n.

124 περὶ δ' αἶθωνος δορᾶς 'for the reddish-brown hide'. In Homer, the epithet describes the colour of a lion's skin; a boar is much darker: Homer calls its hide λαχνῆεν (*Il.* 9.548), which seems more appropriate. Did B. want to make the boar resemble a lion by giving it a 'leonine' epithet (cf. 107n. and 109n.)?

125 ἐνδυκέως: they fought ‘hard’, first with the boar (112–13n.), then against the Kouretes. In Meleager’s pathetic and self-pitying account, the repetition emphasizes their hard struggle.

126 Schol. AB on *Il.* 9.529 explain that both Kalydonians and Kouretes were Aitolians, Oineus ruling over Kalydon, Thestias over Pleuron.

μενεπτολέμοις ‘staunch in battle’; they are μενεχάρμαι in *Il.* 9.529 and Stes. 222 col.11 9.

129–135 In *Od.* 11.535–7, Odysseus concludes his dialogue with Achilles’ shade with the statement that in war indiscriminate killing is common; cf. Soph. fr. 838 R. τυφλὸς γάρ, ὧ γυναικες, οὐδ’ ὄρων Ἄρης | συδὸς προσώπῳ πάντα τυρβάξει κακά, ‘Ares is blind, women, and cannot see, he who with his pig’s face stirs up every kind of evil.’ Despite the reference to a boar, this cannot come from Sophocles’ *Meleagros* which had a chorus of priests, not women, according to Schol. A on *Il.* 9.575.

130 καρτερόθυμος Ἄρης: cf. Ἔριν . . . καρτερόθυμον Hes. *Th.* 225; in Homer, the epithet is given to heroes (*Il.* 13.350 Achilles, *Od.* 21.25 Herakles).

133 ψυχᾷς ἐπὶ δυσμενέων ‘against the lives of the enemies’, cf. ψυχὰ = ‘life’ in 151. Instead of simply saying δυσμενέσιν (as Homer would have done: cf. *Il.* 17.158 δυσμενέεσσι . . . δῆριν ἔθεντο), Meleager emphasizes the notion of ‘life’ because he was so cruelly deprived of his.

135 τοῖσιν ἂν δαίμων θέλη: a general conditional relative clause, cf. Goodwin, *Syntax* 204–5 § 532.

136 ταῦτ’ οὐκ ἐπιλεξαμένα ‘she gave no thought to this’, i.e. that war is ‘blind’ and kills indiscriminately (for ἐπιλέγεσθαι in the sense of λογίζεσθαι cf. Hdt. 2.120.1; 3.41.1; 5.80.1 etc.). Meleager uses the statement 129–35 to present his (subjective) innocence: he did not intentionally kill his mother’s brothers; he therefore feels that Althaia’s revenge was doubly unjust and cruel, hence his triple condemnation of her as δαΐφρων (122n.), κακόποτος (138), ἀτάρβακτος γυνά (139).

139 ἀτάρβακτος ‘unflinching’, only here and Pind. *P.* 4.84, either a variant form of ἀταρβής, ἀταρβητος ‘untrembling, fearless’, or a verbal adjective from *ταρβάζειν or *ταρβάσσειν, cf. τάρβος ‘fright’. Althaia, her son claims, did not tremble when she threw the log into the fire.

141 ὤκμορον ‘swift-dooming’, like the arrows in Homer (*Il.* 15.441, *Od.* 22.75). A fragment from Phrynichos’ *Pleuoniai* also describes Meleager’s death as swift: κρυερὸν γὰρ οὐκ | ἄλυσεν μόρον, ὥκειά δέ νιν φλὸς κατεδαΐσατο | δαλοῦ περθομένου ματρὸς ὑπ’ αἰνᾶς κακομαχάνου (*TiGF* 1 p.75), but it is not evident that B. borrowed anything from him. Meleager

may well have been referred to as ὠκύμορος in some epic version of the story (like Achilles in *Il.* 1.417 etc.), which may have been the source for both Phrynichos and B. (and for the Boar Hunt scene on the François Vase ?).

ἐξαύσασα: the pap. has ἐγκλαυσασα, which cannot be right; after ἐκ λάρνακος, the sense requires something like ‘taking out’ (cf. *protulit hunc genitrix* in Ovid’s account of the story, *Met.* 8.460), so the verb cannot be a compound of κλείειν ‘to close’ (ἐκκλείσασα, ἀγκλαύσασα), nor can it be a form of κλαίειν ‘to weep’: after 37–9, Althaia in tears would hardly be credible (even though in *Il.* 9.570 she weeps for her brothers); besides, καῖε . . . ἐκ λάρνακος would then be very elliptic (‘she burnt it <having taken it> out of the chest’). The solution is offered by Hesych. ε 3617 ἐξαῦσαι ‘ἐξελεῖν and Pollux 6.88 καὶ τὸ ἐξελεῖν ἐξαῦσαι, which suggested ἐξαύσασα to Wackernagel 1905: 154.

143–4 μοῖρ’ ἐπέκλωσεν might be a phrase adapted from epic poetry; it also occurs in Aesch. *Eum.* 334–5, cf. Kallinos 1.8 Μοῖραι ἐπικλώσωσ(ι) and Plato, *Epigr.* 6.2 Μοῖραι ἐπέκλωσαν.

τότε ζωᾶς ὄρον . . . ἔμμεν: (fate had decreed that the log) ‘then be the limit of my life’, τότε = when Althaia burnt it. This is confirmed by Apollod. 1.8.2 τὰς Μοῖρας φασὶν εἰπεῖν <ὅτι> τότε τελευτήσῃ Μελέαγρος, ὅταν ὁ . . . δαλὸς κατακτῇ. Cf. Aesch. *Cho.* 607–11 (Althaia) καταίθουσα παιδὸς δαφνοῖν δαλὸν ἡλικ(α) ‘the log that was contemporary with her son’, . . . ξύμμετρόν τε διὰ βίου μοιρόκραντον ἐς ἡμᾶρ ‘its age tallying with his throughout his life to the day decreed by fate’. For ὄρος = ‘time-limit’ cf. Eur. *IT* 1219.

148 πύργων προπάροιθε κιχῆσας ‘having caught him in front of the towers’ is explained by the following τοὶ δὲ . . . φεύγον . . . Πλευρώνα (149–51). As long as B. was following Homer’s account, his narrative was moving in a linear fashion; now that Meleager is focussing on Althaia and his own miserable death, the narrative technique changes. Having put the crucial verb, καῖε, immediately after ἀτάρβακτος γυνά, B. then has to explain what had happened before – first the significance of the log (142–4), then the events that led Althaia to burn it (144–51).

151–4 μίνυθεν . . . ἦβαν προλείπων: the passage appears to be modelled on the description of Hektor’s last moments in *Il.* 22.337–63: ὀλιγοσθενέων (only here) may be coined after ὀλιγοδρανέων *Il.* 22.337, and 153–4 seem to be a variation on *Il.* 22.362–3 ψυχὴ δ’ ἐκ ρέθων πταμένη Αἰδὸςδε βεβήκει | ὄν πότμον γοῶσα, λιποῦσ’ ἀνδρότητα καὶ ἥβην. All that B. adds is

designed to create compassion with Meleager's sad fate by exploiting its emotional and tragic potential: his ψυχή is γλυκεῖα, his ἥβη is ἀγλαά, his last breath is a sob with tears, αἶαἰ . . . δάκρυσα τλά[μων].

155 ἀδεισιβόαν ‘fearless of the battle-cry’, also 11.61. B. has four more compounds of this type (α privative + 2 other elements): ἀναιδομάχας 5.105, ἀταρβομάχας 16.28, ἀκαμαντορόας 5.180, ἀμετρόδικος 11.68.

155–8 Weeping is out of character for Herakles: in the older (epic ?) versions of his myth, it is hard to imagine Herakles shedding tears. Here he weeps, for the first and only time – not out of pain or grief for himself, but out of compassion for young Meleager: B. exploits the potential for pathos to the full. The motif recurs in Aesch. *Prom.* 397–401 (the Okeanids weep out of pity for Prometheus) and in Eur. *HF* 1238 (Theseus for Herakles), cf. *HF* 1353–6 and Soph. *Trach.* 1070–5 (Herakles' self-pity). Later variations of this motif include the funerary epigram for Polystratos (790 Kaibel), the anecdote about the Aitolian Stichios killed by Herakles in his madness ('and for him alone, they say, the hero wept', Ptolemaios Chennos, *Καινὴ ἱστορία* 7.5), and the lamentation for a professor of Berytos for whom Constantinople mourns, ἡ πάρος αἰὲν ἄδακρυς ἐδάκρυσεν τότε Πώμη (Heitsch, *Dichterfragmente* no. 30.94).

160–2 The famous saying is quoted in two versions:

(a) hexameters (Alkidamas in Stob. 4.52.22 etc.)

ἀρχὴν (v.l. πάντων) μὲν μὴ φῦναι ἐπιχθονίοισιν ἄριστον,
φύντα δ' ὅπως ὤκιστα πύλας Ἀἴδαο περῆσαι

(b) elegiacs (Theognis 425–28 etc.)

πάντων μὲν μὴ φῦναι ἐπιχθονίοισιν ἄριστον
μήδ' ἐσιδεῖν αὐγὰς ὀξέος ἡελίου,
φύντα δ' ὅπως ὤκιστα πύλας Ἀἴδαο περῆσαι
καὶ κείσθαι πολλὴν γῆν ἐπαμνησάμενον.

The original version is obviously (a) which was expanded to (b) when it was incorporated into a collection of elegiacs, such as the Theognidean corpus. Why B. adopted the elegiac version (b) is not clear – possibly because he found it more moving. At any rate, he was able to quote only the first half, because Meleager *did* die young, as he himself had just tearfully lamented, so naturally B. omits any reference to the second part of this *gnome*; the audience would surely have known it anyway.

162–3 ἀλλ' οὐ γάρ τις . . . μυρομένοις ‘but there is nothing to be achieved by weeping . . .’, almost = *Od.* 10.202 = 568 ἀλλ' οὐ γάρ τις πρῆξις ἐγίγνετο μυρομένοισιν, cf. Alkaios 335.2 προκόφομεν γὰρ οὐδὲν

ἀσάμενοι, Stes. *PMG* 244 ἀτελέστατα (ἀτέλεστα τε Ahrens) καὶ ἀμάχανα τοὺς θανόντας κλαῖειν. Achilles' consolatory address to Priam is in a similar vein: ἄνσχεο, μὴδ' ἀλίσστον ὀδύρεο . . . οὐ γάρ τι πρῆξεις ἀκαχήμενος υἱὸς ἕϊρος,| οὐδέ μιν ἀνστήσεις, πρὶν καὶ κακὸν ἄλλο πάθῃσθα, *Il.* 24.549. As the situation here is closely parallel to that in B. (direct speech, admonition to stop lamenting), it seems likely that B. had this scene in mind, rather than *Od.* 10.201–2 (past narrative). The odd statement in 164 ('one should speak rather of what one is likely to accomplish') could therefore be interpreted as a deliberate reference to the *Iliad* passage: while Achilles says something which cannot possibly be done, Herakles, by contrast, very pointedly suggests something (κέϊνο ὃ τι) practicable. The poet's choice of literary models is striking: they are all familiar passages; the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter* (see 16n.) must have been well-known in Sicily; the image of the leaves (*Il.* 6.146–9, see 65–7n.) was one of the best-known Homeric similes, as the adaptations suggest; Odysseus preparing for the slaughter of the suitors (see 73n.) is an impressive example of a hero stringing his bow; Prometheus in Hes. *Th.* 613–16 is the prototype of someone who, by challenging the gods, incurs their wrath and pays the penalty (see 94–6n.); Hektor's death is the most moving scene of a great hero dying (see 151–4n.); the most moving lamentation scene is the encounter of Priam with Achilles (see above). Educated listeners will have recognized these literary models and appreciated B.'s adaptations as 'highlights' of his narrative, which was probably what B. intended. If so, his address to Hieron 'you will rightly assess the sweet gift' etc. (3–6) will have prepared the addressee for this literary adventure.

164 ὅτι καὶ μέλλει τελεῖν: τελεῖν (future, see LSJ under μέλλω 1c) must be transitive, with the subject τις understood; for examples of 'omitted' τις cf. *Il.* 13.287; 22.199; Pind. *I.* 5.22; see Ed. Fraenkel on Aesch. *Ag.* 71 with bibliography.

167 ἄδμητα 'unwedded', a virgin; Meleager refers to this in 174–175.

168 σοὶ φῦαν ἀλιγκία 'resembling you in stature' motivates Herakles' question; it is also a discreetly erotic compliment for Meleager (if the maiden resembles him, Herakles will be attracted to her). Dickens' *David Copperfield*, end of chapter 6 offers a striking parallel: 'Good night, young Copperfield', said Steerforth. 'I'll take care of you.' 'You're very kind', I gratefully returned. 'I am very much obliged to you.' 'You haven't got a sister, have you?', said Steerforth, yawning. 'No', I answered. 'That's a pity', said Steerforth. 'If you had had one, I should think she would have been a pretty, timid, little, brighteyed sort of girl. I should have liked to know her. Good

night, young Copperfield.’ – Pindar, fr. 249a (see above, p. 107) told the story differently: he made Meleager ask Herakles to marry his sister, presumably to protect her from Acheloiros. By reversing this, B. can present Herakles, as well as Meleager, as an illustration of his introductory statement that no mortal can have complete happiness (50–5n.).

172 χλωράύχενα ‘with pale neck’: a pale complexion was considered attractive in women, hence compounds such as λευκώλενος and λευκοπάριος, cf. πήχεε λευκῶ *Od.* 23.240, λευκὴν δέρην *Eur. IA* 875. χλωράύχην is clearly a colour compound, as in *Sim. PMG* 586.2; it has nothing to do with ‘freshness’; cf. χλωρῆς ἀηδῶν *Od.* 19.518 and χλωρὸν δάκρυ *Eur. Med.* 906 (tears are warm and salty, not fresh: here too it must be a colour epithet, ‘bright tears’).

176–8 A formula of transition from the mythical narrative to the second praise passage. Similar formulas are frequent in Pindar, see Braswell on *P.* 4.247–8: ‘The device is obviously a necessary part of a lyric poet’s technique, since he can seldom develop a point with the fullness of epic.’ Pindar also uses the image of the Muses’ chariot as a metaphor for poetry, e.g. in *O.* 6.22–7 where the victor’s mule chariot, led by the Muses, brings the poet to Syracuse. Parmenides’ poem begins in strikingly similar fashion.

178–9 Δία . . . ἀρχαγὸν θεῶν: the concluding part of this ode begins and ends (200) with Zeus, as befits an Olympian victory ode. The second praise passage (178–86) is a brief summary of the first (37–49).

‘Ολύμπιον: wrongly changed to ‘Ολυμπίων by the corrector **A**³.

180 ἀκαμαντορόαν ‘tireless stream’, only here; see 155n.

181 Πέλοπος τε βίαν ‘the might of Pelops’; the circumlocution with βία, common in Homer, is also found in Pindar (*O.* 1.88 of ‘violent’ Oinomaos; *P.* 11.61 of Kastor) and occasionally in tragedy (*Aesch. Sept.* 571 and 577; *Cho.* 893; *Eur. Phoen.* 56). For the worship of Pelops at Olympia cf. Paus. 5.13.1–2.

183 πο]σσι νικάσας δρόμωι: the first dative is instrumental, the second modal (or ‘of circumstance’); Pindar uses the accusative instead: *O.* 4.22 ἐν ἔντεσι νικῶν δρόμον, also *O.* 13.30.

186 εὐδαιμονίας πέταλον ‘the leaves of good fortune’, i.e. the victor’s olive wreath. The phrase refers back to the concluding sentence of the first praise passage, 46–9. Hieron’s εὐδαιμονία stands in stark contrast to the sombre mood of the mythical narrative which exemplified the statement that no mortal can be entirely happy. Although this also applies to Hieron, he is certainly fortunate *now*.

187–9 χρή] δ' . . . αἰνεῖν, φθόνον . . . ἀπωσάμενον 'one must praise, thrusting envy aside'. Bundy 57, commenting on the very similar passage in Pind. *I.* 1.41–6, claims that χρή 'issues a very much stronger imperative than do the other forms in which the χρέος motive is cast'. The passage in B. is a variation of the same χρέος ('obligation to praise') motive, on which see 3.67–71n. and 11.123n. It also echoes the 'willingness' motive in the proem (14–16) by the repetition of αἰνεῖν (16 and 188).

190 εἴ τις εὖ πράσσοι βροτῶ[ν 'any mortal who is successful'. Here the condition follows the vaunt (χρή . . . αἰνεῖν), whereas in Pindar's *I.* 1.41–6 the sequence is reversed. Cf. also *O.* 11.4–8 εἰ δὲ σὺν πόνῳ τις εὖ πράσσοι, μελὶγάρυες ὕμνοι | ὑπέρων ἀρχὰ λόγων | τέλλεται καὶ πιστὸν ὄρκιον μεγάλας ἀρεταῖς | ἀφθόνητος δ' αἶνος Ὀλυμπιονίκαις | οὗτος ἄγκειται 'but if through toil someone should succeed, honey-sounding hymns are a beginning for later words of renown, and the faithful pledge of great achievements. Without stint is that praise dedicated to Olympic victors' (on ἀφθόνητος αἶνος 'ungrudging praise' see Bundy, *Studia Pindarica* 15).

191–3 Βοιωτὸς ἀνὴρ . . . πρόπολος Μουσᾶν: Hesiod, the Μουσάων θεράπων (*Th.* 100), even though the exact quotation is not found in his extant works, unless it refers to *Th.* 81–97 (as suggested by Merkelbach and West on Hes. fr. 344) where Hesiod speaks of the Muses' gifts of persuasive speech and song to kings and poets respectively. If B. did have this passage in mind, his phrase [τούτῳ] καὶ βροτῶν φήμαν ἔπ[εσθαι] (193–4) might echo Hesiod's οἱ δὲ τε λαοὶ | πάντες ἐς αὐτὸν ὀρώσι (*Th.* 84–5) and θεὸν ὧς ἰλάσκονται (*Th.* 91); it would, however, be a rather approximate 'quotation'. Theognis 169 δν δὲ θεοὶ τιμῶσιν, ὁ καὶ μωμεύμενος αἰνεῖ comes much closer to B.'s statement; it seems possible that both reflect a lost 'Hesiodic' statement, perhaps from the Χείρωνος ὑποθήκαι, the 'instructions' given to the young Achilles by his tutor, Chiron, cf. [Hes.] frs. 283–5. Pindar also likes to highlight important statements by presenting them as quotations by famous wise men, cf. *P.* 9.93–6 (the old man in the sea), *I.* 6.67 (Hes. *Op.* 412), *P.* 6.20–7 (Chiron's teachings, [Hes.] fr. 283), *O.* 6.16–17 (Adrastos' saying, from the *Thebaid*), *I.* 2.9–12 (Aristodamos), fr. 35b (Chilon), also *N.* 3.29 and 9.6–7. Simonides, by contrast, modifies or rejects sayings of the 'seven Sages', *PMG* 542 and 581.

195–7 πείθομαι . . . πέμπειν Ἱέρωνι: πείθομαι refers to the preceding statement; B. 'obeys' or 'follows' Hesiod's saying by sending his ode to Hieron in order to spread his fame. Jebb's supplement οὐ[κ ἐκτὸς δίκας] (196) supplies the most suitable noun to qualify κελεύθου: 'without (straying from) the path (of justice)', cf. 11.26–7n.

εὐκλέα . . . γλῶσσαν ‘speech that brings glory’, cf. Pind. *O.* 2.90 ἐκ μαλθακάς . . . φρενὸς εὐκλέας ὀϊστοὺς ἰέντες (‘arrows’ = words or songs of praise); *N.* 6.28–9 οὐρον ἐπέων εὐκλέα; Aesch. *Cho.* 321 γόος εὐκλεῆς ‘lament that brings glory’.

πέμπειν ἱέρωνι takes up the ‘willingness’ theme from the first praise passage, with echoing words: ξένος . . . πέμπει . . . κλεεννὰν ἐς πόλιν (11–12); see also 14–16n.

198 πυθμένες . . . ἔσθλ[ῶν]: πυθμήν is the ‘stock’ or ‘root’ of a tree, and even where the word is used metaphorically, the original meaning is felt (as here: indicated by the verb, θάλλουσιν); similarly in Aesch. *Cho.* 204 and 260, *Supp.* 106. From praising words (τόθεν) ‘the tree-stocks of blessings flourish’. Pindar uses similar images in *N.* 8.40–2, *P.* 5.98–100, *I.* 6.19–21.

200 ἐν εἰρήν[ῃ] φυλάσσοι: may Zeus secure peace, now that the Carthaginians have been defeated. The poet’s concluding wish is not for further military successes, but for the preservation of peace. B. expresses his desire for peace either in person, as here and above all in his *Paean* (fr. 4), or through his characters, as in 11.69 and 15.45–6. His is a lone voice; similar views on peace and war are not found until the end of the fifth century, in Aristophanes and Euripides: see pp. 225–7.

ODE 6: FOR LACHON FROM KEOS

1. *Lachon’s victories*

Odes 6 and 7 celebrate the victory of Lachon, son of Aristomenes, from Keos, in the sprint (στάδιον) of boys in the 82nd Olympiad (452 BCE). The date is given by the victory list *POxy.* II 222 col. II 18 Λάκων Κε[ῖ]τος παῖδ(ων) στάδιον (the supplement follows from the position of this entry in the list). The spelling of the name is confirmed by the pun at the beginning of the ode (1–2n.), and by the victors’ list from Iulis on Keos *IG* XII 5.608 lines 27–8, which record two Nemean victories by the same Lachon as a boy. The inscription from Keos has been reprinted with two improved readings and discussion by D. Schmidt 1999: 70.

Lachon’s Olympic victory of 452 was celebrated προδόμοις αἰοιδᾷς (14–15). Does this refer to this ode being sung ‘before *your* house’, i.e. of the victor’s father, Aristomenes, at Iulis, or ‘before the *temple*’ (of Zeus at Olympia)? It is true that the beginning of ode 7, which addresses the sixteenth day of the month in which the games were held, i.e. either Parthenios or Apollonios, might suggest performance of this ode at Olympia because

on that day the prizes were distributed (Schol. Pind. *O.* 5.13), but this is not conclusive as this address could just as well be the starting point of a more general victory ode performed in the victor's home town, for it is not impossible that ode 7 was triadic and originally much longer. If it was, it would have been composed for a performance at Iulis, while ode 6 was sung at Olympia; προδόμοις would then mean the front part of the temple, presumably the temple of Zeus which had been completed a few years earlier (before 456). The word is attested in Homer (*Il.* 9.473; 24.673; *Od.* 4.302) and Euphorion (*SH* 415 1 10 παρὰ πρόδομον θᾶ[λάμοι]ο and perhaps 413.8 [π]ροδόμονδε), cf. ὀπισθόδομος 'the back chamber' (of the temple, where the treasure was kept), Ar. *Ploutos* 1193 etc.

2. Structure of the ode

Although this short ode consists of strophes of 8 lines each, its structure takes no notice of the strophic division. It falls into three sections of increasing length: (a) Announcement of the victory (1–3), (b) reference to previous victories of Kean athletes at Olympia (4–9), (c) Lachon's present victory (10–16). While part (a) serves as a kind of proem, parts (b) and (c) are closely interrelated: πάροιθεν (4) is taken up by νῦν (10), πύξ τε καὶ στάδιον κρατεῦ[σαν] (7) is taken up by στάδιον κρατήσας (15) in verbal and metrical responsion, and ξεισάν ποτ' Ὀλυμπία (6) is taken up by γεραίρει προδόμοις ὀιδᾶϊς (14), also in responsion. The close verbal and metrical correspondences between parts (b) and (c) are indicative of the underlying idea that Lachon's victory should be seen as the latest in a long line of successes by Kean athletes, and that he proved himself to be worthy of them. Part (c), beginning with σὲ δὲ νῦν . . . (10), is also linked to the opening passage as it addresses Lachon directly, thus rounding off this short ode very neatly. Its structure is very similar to that of ode 2, as van Groningen, *Composition* 194 n.2 has observed.

1–2 Λάχων . . . λάχε: B. uses this type of pun only here, whereas Pindar has several examples: *O.* 6.55–7 Ἴαμος – ἱών, *P.* 4.27 μῆδεσιν – Μῆδεῖα, *I.* 6.53 αἰετός – Αἴας (cf. Apollod. 3.12.7, but linked to αἰεῖ in Soph. *Aias* 430), and fr. 105 (Ἰέρων) ζαθέων ἱερῶν ἐπώνυμε πάτερ, cf. also Likymnios *PMG* 770b Ἀχέρων ἄχεα πορθμεύει βροτοῖσιν. Simonides' pun on the name Κρίός ('ram', *PMG* 507) is different in that it involves no word-play

with etymologies, but a taunt on the man's name: 'the Ram was fleeced', cf. Page 1951: 140–2.

Διός = παρὰ Διός; verbs like λαγχάνειν, τυγχάνειν, δέχεσθαι, κομίζεσθαι can combine a direct object (acc.) with the genitive of a person, for which examples can be found in K-G 1 394–5.

3–4 Ἀλφεῦ προχοαῖσ[– – –] δι' ὅσσα: the choice of supplements will depend on whether ὅσσα is (a) relative, (b) exclamatory, or (c) interrogative. (a) seems the most likely: perhaps [ἀέθλων] (Housman), which would go with φέρτατον: 'Lachon won . . . the highest prestige (κῦδος) of the games'; but as λάχε . . . κῦδος is sufficient to indicate that he won his contest, ἀέθλων would not be strictly necessary, and one might instead think of an adjective or pronoun linked to κῦδος, such as (προχοαῖσ[ιν] ἴσον (Schwartz) or (–αῖσ[ι] τοῖον 'prestige equal <to that> for which . . .' or 'of the kind for which . . .', or perhaps even a verb: (–αῖσ[ι] ῥέξας 'having achieved <that> for which . . .'. Of the other two possibilities, (c) is unlikely (what could e.g. μαθόντος refer to?), and (b), though well attested in Pindar (see the passages listed by Radt on *Pae.* 6.87), is not found in B., and Jebb's objection (pp. 474–5) that it seems 'too jerky for our poet's style; his sentences are wont to flow on smoothly' seems valid, as it would indeed create a strangely unmotivated *asyndeton*.

4 παρόιθεν 'in earlier times'; the victories in the Olympic games won by previous Kean athletes put Lachon's present victory into perspective, as he has now (νῦν, 10) shown himself worthy of them. Previous Kean successes were in boxing and running (πύξ τε καὶ στάδιον, 7); unfortunately, the inscription from Iulis (*IG* xii 5.608) which lists Isthmian and Nemean victories does not allow us to verify whether the Keans were particularly successful in these disciplines, as it is damaged on the right and has lost nearly all the indications of contests.

5 ἀμπελοτρόφον Κέον: in his paean for the Keans (*Pae.* 4.21–6), Pindar makes the chorus praise the island for her excellence in games (ἀρεταῖς ἀέθλων), and her abundance of poetry (μοῖσαν παρέχων ἄλις); she also grows 'some' (τι) of Dionysos 'lifegiving remedy for despair' (βιόδωρον ἀμαχανίας ἄκος, i.e. wine), but lacks horses and cattle.

6–7 αἰσαν ποτ' Ὀλυμπία . . . κρατεῦ[σαν] is closely paralleled by the corresponding lines of the antistrophe (14–15 γεράρει προδόμοις αἰδαῖς . . . κρατήσας). The parallel suggests that Ὀλυμπία (6) goes with αἰσαν rather than with κρατεῦ[σαν]: 'the youths sang at Olympia of vine-nurturing Keos as the winner in boxing and sprint'.

8–9 στεφάνοις . . . βρύοντες ‘luxuriant with garlands’. B. is fond of the verb βρύειν ‘to be exuberant’ (3.15–16n.), whereas Pindar prefers θάλλειν, cf. *N.* 4.88 (the victor θάλησε Κορινθίοις σελίνοις ‘flourished with Corinthian parsley’) and *Parth.* 2.11 of the girls’ choir στεφάνοις θάλλοισα. The later commentators of the *Iliad* treated the verbs as synonymous, cf. Schol. DBT on *Il.* 17.56 and Hesych. β 1249.

10 ἀναξιμόλπου ‘song-ruling’; nearly all compounds in B. beginning with ἀναξι– (except ἀ[ναξιφόρ]μιγγος, 4.7) are *hapax legomena*, as is ὕμνοά- νασσα 12.1.

11 Οὐρανίας . . . Νίκ[ας]: the song is Ourania’s, the Muse’s, and it honours the victor ‘by the will of Victory’; the chorus speak as if the poet did not exist.

13 ποδάνεμον τέκος ‘wind-footed son’ of Aristomenes; the phrase refers back to πόδεσσι (2) and Lachon’s sprint victory. In the *Iliad* (2.786 etc.), the epithet is always given to Iris (cf. *h.Ap.* 107); it may have occurred in Simonides, cf. the marginal note in *PMG* 519 fr. 118.6, possibly also in fr. 131.2]ει ποδα[νεμ– (Lobel).

14–15 προδόμοις αἰοδαῖς ‘with songs sung before the house’. The compound is here used as an adjective, like πρόναος in Aesch. *Supp.* 494 βωμούς προνάους. It seems that a masc. noun, ὁ πρόναος, did not exist (even though ὁ ὀπισθόδομος does, cf. Aristoph. *Pl.* 1193, Demosth. 13.14, 24.136 etc., of the Parthenon), but that a noun, τὸ πρόδομον ‘that which is in front of the house’, was derived from the adjective πρόδομος, –ον; Schwyzer II 508 n.1 discusses the evidence (add Euphorion *SH* 413.8 and 415 col. II 10). προδό- μοις αἰο– responds with ποτ’ Ὀλυμπίαι (6); it seems to refer not to the victor’s (or his father’s) house on Keos, but to the house of Zeus, his large temple at Olympia; see the introduction to this ode, above pp. 129–30.

15 στάδιον κρατήσας → στάδιον κρατεῦ[σαν 7. The repetition emphasizes the link between the previous Olympic successes of Kean athletes and Lachon’s present victory, which ‘brought fame to Keos’ (16). The verb κρατεῖν with the contest as its direct object occurs in Pindar, *N.* 10.25–6 (in *zeugma*: ἐκράτησε . . . Ἑλλανα στρατὸν . . . καὶ τὸν Ἰσθμοῖ καὶ Νεμέαι στέφανον, ‘he conquered the host of Hellenes . . . and the crown at both the Isthmos and Nemea’) and in the Rhodian epigram for Hagesistratos, Moretti, *Iscrizioni* no. 47 = Ebert no. 72.1–3

Τὰμ βαρύχειρα πάλαν, Ζεῦ Ὀλύμπιε, σὸν κατ’ ἀγῶνα
ἀπτῶτ’ ἀγγέλλω παῖδα κρατεῖν Πόδιον
Πολυκρέοντος υἱὸν Ἀγησίστρατον,

‘I announce that at your festival, Olympian Zeus, a Rhodian, Hagesistratos the son of Polykreon, has won the heavy-handed wrestling contest without being thrown.’ Cf. also the end of the epigram for Nikoladas from Corinth, attributed to Simonides (fr. 147 Diehl = *AP* XIII 19 = Ebert no. 26.11–12) σταδῖωι δὲ τὰ πάντα κρατήσας | εὐφρανεν μέγαν Κόρινθον.

ODE 11: FOR ALEXIDAMOS OF METAPONTION

1. *Metapontion*

Ode 11 celebrates the victory of Alexidamos, son of Phaῖskos, from Metapontion in the wrestling in the age-group of boys. Its date is not known. Lines 10–14 make it clear that it was performed in the victor’s home town.

In historical times, south Italian Metapontion was a colony of Achaians, situated on the east coast of Lucania, between the rivers Bradanos and Kasas (Casuentus, Basento). Its foundation was variously attributed to, among others, Nestor’s Pyliaios on their return from the Trojan War (Strabo 6.1.15 C.264, also 5.2.5 C.222; cf. Solin. 2.10; Timaios *FGH* 566 F 51–2 = Athen. 12.523c–e, Lykophron 978–9 and *A.P.* 7.297), or to Epeios of Elis (Velleius 1.1), or to the Achaians who had been called to help defend Sybaris against Tarentum (Antiochos *FGH* 555 F 12; Livy 25.15.7). The latter foundation can be dated to the later seventh century BCE.

The foundation legend may have been the result of a desire to give this small and relatively insignificant country town in southern Italy a grand, heroic past. Pausanias, in his survey of the history of Achaia (7.6.3–4), expresses amazement at the fact that Achaia, so powerful at the time of the Trojan War (μεγίστη τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ μοῖρα), was so insignificant in the Persian Wars. The equation of the Homeric Achaians with the Peloponnesian Achaians who founded the town may have been B.’s invention, or he may have found it circulating among the Metapontians; in either case, it was more recent than the *Nostoi* (*PEG* p. 94), which told the story of Nestor’s return in accordance with *Od.* 3.160–200, i.e. made him and Diomedes return straight home. See 126n.

Five temples have been located in the area of the town. The first three are dated to c. 580–570 BCE, the others to c. 530–470 BCE. Outside the town area, at S. Biagio della Venella, some 5 km to the west/north-west, is the important sanctuary of Artemis Hemera (‘the gentle Artemis’) which,

like many other sanctuaries in the region, shows a close connection with water-cults. The excavations directed by D. Adamesteanu have unearthed a large number of terracotta statuettes and busts of a goddess, as well as incense burners (θυμιατήρια) and other cult objects; some of those busts show the goddess holding a deer, i.e. she is Artemis as πότνια θηρῶν; see Adamesteanu, *La Basilicata antica* 55–65, with illustrations on pp.58–9. The attribution of this sanctuary is further confirmed by a black-figure lekythos found there (now in Naples, Nat. Mus., Collezione Santangelo 99; Appendix no. 6) with the dedication ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΙ, and by Hyginus 186.6 (Melanippe) who says about the local king, Metapontus: *dies advenerat ut Metapontus exiret ad Dianam Metapontinam ad sacrum faciendum*, which implies an Artemis sanctuary at some distance outside the town. Chronologically the finds from this sanctuary range from the later seventh to the fourth century BCE. On the basins and water conduits found at S. Biagio, cf. Carter, *Sanctuaries* 168–9: ‘The cult focused on the spring which was channelled into a basin constructed of conglomerate stone. A number of structures decorated with polychrome terracotta revetments and antefixes rose on a level terrace above the spring in the sixth, fifth and fourth centuries BC’

2. The myth

The story of the madness and eventual healing of Proitos’ daughters, as told by B., agrees so closely (apart from one essential detail, see below) with the version reported by B.’s contemporary, Pherekydes of Athens (*FGHist* 3 F 114 = Schol. MV on *Od.* 15.225), that one must assume some connexion between them. Pherekydes says that the most glorious among the many miraculous exploits of the seer Melampous, son of Amythaon, was his cure of Lysippe and Iphianassa, daughters of Proitos, king of Argos: ‘In their juvenile thoughtlessness they had offended Hera; for when they came to her temple, they disparaged it, saying that their father’s house was richer. And when for this reason they had gone mad, Melampous came along and promised to cure them without fail, provided that he received a recompense proportionate to the cure. For the illness had lasted ten years already, causing distress not only to the girls but also to their parents. When Proitos offered to give Melampous a part of his kingdom and one of his daughters, whichever he wanted, Melampous cured their illness by propitiating Hera through prayers and sacrifices.’ How does this relate to B.’s account?

Theoretically, there are three possibilities: (a) Pherekydes depends on B., (b) B. has used and modified Pherekydes, or (c) both depend on the same source. Before we can answer the question, we must examine the different versions of the myth. Essentially, two versions can be distinguished, a 'Dionysian' (i) and an 'Argive' version (ii).

Version i: (a) The women of Argos (Apollod. 1.9.12; Hdt. 9.34; Diod. 4.68; Paus. 2.18.4) or (b) Proitos' daughters ([Hes.] fr.131 = Apollod. 2.2.2) are driven mad by Dionysos and cured by Melampous; in return, he and his brother, Bias, receive a part of the kingdom.

Version ii: Proitos is king of either Argos or Tiryns; Hera punishes his daughters, Lysippe, Iphinoë and Iphianassa, (a) with a skin disease and hair loss for their lewdness (μαχλοσύνη, [Hes.] frs. 132–3), or (b) with madness because they had disdained her (Akusilaos *FGrHist* 2 F 28; Pherekydes *FGrHist* 3 F 114; Probus on Verg. *Ecl.* 6.48). They are cured (i) by Melampous (Pherekydes; Probus; *SEG* 15.195; without reference to the cause of their madness: Strabo 8.3.19; Steph.Byz. *s.v.* Λουσοί; Alexis fr. 117 = *PCG* II p.86), or (2) by Artemis (B. 11; Kallim. *h.* 3.236, probably based on Argive local legend; Paus. 2.25.3 links the sanctuary of Artemis Hemera at Lusoi to the cure by Melampous), or (3) by Asklepios (Polyarchos *FGrHist* 37 F 1).

Three of these versions (i.b, ii.a, and ii.b1) are attributed to 'Hesiod'; of these, only ii.a is explicitly attested for the *Catalogue of Women* (frs. 132 and 133), while i.b may go back to the *Melampodeia*; ii.b1 is attributed to 'Hesiod' by Probus, but attested as early as the fifth century by Pherekydes. Akusilaos and Pherekydes agree in that they both present the girls' madness as punishment for their arrogant behaviour towards the temple or the cult statue (Akusilaos) of Hera, although we cannot be quite sure whether Akusilaos attributed their cure to Melampous (ii.b1) or to Artemis (ii.b2). Be that as it may, the girls' contemptuous attitude towards the temple or statue, a wooden block (ξύονον), seems to reflect an age when large-format sculpture and temple architecture was beginning to replace the modest wooden temples and simple block statues of the older period, which were felt to be 'archaic' or 'primitive' – see below.

How does Pherekydes' version (ii.b1) relate to that of B. (ii.b2)? It seems unlikely that Pherekydes modified B. by replacing Artemis with Melampous, because (1) it would mean that he extended the girls' madness from one year (= 13 months, B. 11.92) to ten, and (2) B.11 was performed at Metapontion, a small town in Magna Graecia, from where knowledge of this ode would not easily have reached Athens and become known to

Pherekydes, given that in the first half of the fifth century the knowledge of new poetry still depended, in the absence of a proper book-trade, on oral performance and personal attendance or acquaintance.

Could B. have used and modified Pherekydes? This may be possible, although neither the date of the ode nor the dates of Pherekydes' activity (apart from his *agnoscitur* in 456/5 BCE, *FGHist* 3 T 6) can be established. But it seems equally possible that B. found the story in Akusilaos, whose version would then have been the source of both Pherekydes and B., or that they both go back to some local Argive source, such as the *Phoronis*, the epic poem of the late seventh or early sixth century BCE about Phoroneus, the mythical first king of Argos (*PEG* pp.118–21). There appears to be a connexion between fr. 4 of the *Phoronis* (*PEG* pp.119–20) which says that Kallithoë (= Io), priestess of Hera at Argos, was the first to adorn 'the goddess's tall column (κίονα μακρὸν ἀνάσσης) with garlands and tassels', and Akusilaos' statement that the girls went mad because they had disparaged the wooden image of Hera (διότι τὸ τῆς Ἥρας ξόανον ἐξηυτέλιον). The cult statue may have been referred to as a 'tall column', possibly because it was replaced, at some point later in the poem, by a more advanced sculpture in the round. At any rate, the 'tall column' and the ξόανον may well have been the same object, i.e. an archaic wooden image which was felt to be primitive.

It seems likely, therefore, that the story of Proitos' daughters was told in the *Phoronis* and hence summarized by Akusilaos, and that the 'Hesiodic' account, lost after fr. 129.25, which Pherekydes followed, told essentially the same story. If, as seems likely, both accounts had Melampous cure the daughters (version 11.b1), B. may have replaced him with Artemis (version 11.b2) because he had a very good reason: he had to celebrate a young athlete from Metapontion, about whose family or home town there was nothing interesting to report, except that Artemis was worshipped there, in a rural sanctuary outside the town, as protector goddess of Metapontion and its people. In both main sections of the ode, the victor's praise (15–39) and the mythical narrative (40–112), Artemis is the dominating figure on which the unity of the ode depends.

3. Structure

The ode consists of three main parts: (a) the proem with the invocation of Victory (1–14) and praise for the victor (15–39), (b) the myth (40–112),

and (c) the conclusion which links the address to Artemis to praise for the town and the 'Achaians' (113–26). Each section ends with a verbal echo of its beginning: (a) 1 Νίκα γλυκύδωρε → 39 νίκαν ἔδωκε, (b) 40–2 τᾶι . . . βωμόν κατένασσε → 110 οἱ τέμενος βωμόν τε τεύχον, (c) 113–14 ἄρηιφίλοις . . . Ἀχαιοῖς → 126 ἄλκας Ἀχαιῶν.

The first part falls into two sections: the proem (first strophe) in the shape of a prayer to Victory (Νίκη) in twice seven lines which form parallel structures (see 1–14n.) and the praise passage which first celebrates the present victory at Delphi (15–23), then mentions a possible Olympic victory that was denied (24–36), and eventually returns to the Delphic victory (37–9); of these passages, 15–23 and 24–36 correspond closely: 18–19 ἀνθέων . . . στέφανοι → 28–9 ἑλαΐαι . . . στεφανωσάμενον, 19–20 ἐν πεδίῳ . . . Κίρρας → 24–25 ἐν . . . Πέλοπος δαπέδοις, 23 πρὸς γαίαι πεσόντα → 31–3 [ποτὶ γαῖ (?)] . . . πέλασσε. Particularly obvious is the contrasting correspondence between the denied victory (34–6) and the actual victory 'given' by Artemis (37–9). Proem and victor's praise are similarly linked, as ἔλωι (15) refers back to ἔλλαθι (8). The end of the proem (13–14 Πυθιονικὸν πᾶϊδα . . . Φαῖσκου) forms a smooth transition to the next strophe; furthermore, the victor's home town is referred to in both sections (10 and 30).

The myth is narrated in a multiple ring composition, beginning with the end, the foundation of the sanctuary, followed by a first 'ring' which supplies the preceding stage on an a-b-a pattern (the sanctuary was founded because the girls had been cured from their madness sent by Hera, 43–6 and 53–8, the madness having been caused by their arrogance, 47–52). This is followed by a second 'ring' (59–84), the central part of which (64–76) explains why Proitos had left Argos and settled in Tiryns; here a motif appears which is equally relevant to the story of his daughters: disaster is averted, a dangerous situation is defused, the entreaties of the people secure a peaceful settlement. This central part is framed by two passages which correspond with each other symmetrically: 60 λιπόντες Ἄργος → 81 Ἄργος . . . λιπόντες, 61–2 ναῖον . . . ἡμίθεοι → 79–81 ἀντίθεοι ναῖον . . . ἥρωες, and the whole second 'ring' itself is framed by the 'flight' motif (φεύγον 55 and 84) which rounds off the second triad by linking its last line (φεύγον . . . θύγατρεις 84) to its first (τὰς . . . ἐφώβησεν 43).

In the third triad, Proitos takes centre stage. The narrative culminates in two dramatic high points: Proitos' despair and wish to end his life (85–91), and his prayer to Artemis (97–105). Here, too, the 'flight' motif reappears (92–5). The first section (85–95) provides 'dark foil' for the happy conclusion

of the scene (106–12). The foundation of the sanctuary (110–12) links the end of the narrative part to its starting point (40–42). This part thus becomes a hymn to Artemis, the helper and benefactor goddess, who also helped Alexidamos and found a remedy for his earlier misfortune: the connexion between the two main parts of the ode, or between myth and *laudandus*, is evident. Significantly, Artemis' cult name, Ἥμερα, marks the transition from the first to the second (39n.).

The conclusion (113–26) forms the counterpart to the proem in that both coincide with self-contained metrical units (strophe and epode respectively) and in both the chorus addresses a goddess (Nika and Artemis). Artemis is said to have migrated from Arcadian Lusoī with the 'Achaians'; she now 'dwells' in Metapontion 'with happy fortune' or 'success' (115–16 σὺν δὲ τύχαι | ναίεις Μεταπόντιον) – 'success' here means Alexidamos' Pythian victory, which was the point of departure of this ode. Finally, the last sentence (123–6), by linking his victory with the great deeds of Homer's 'Achaians', gives it a mythical dimension (126n.).

In conclusion, it can be said that the ode is very carefully structured, with a vivid sense of ornamental symmetry and a perfect mastery of traditional forms of composition, offering clear thematic parallels between the victory praise and the mythical narrative, and also between the latter and the conclusion. Within the narrative part, the ring composition structures reveal a quite sophisticated narrative technique. Above all, it is the dominant figure of Artemis that gives the whole ode its poetic unity.

1–14 The first strophe is a prayer of thanks to Nika for Alexidamos' success at the Pythian games. It falls into two equal and corresponding halves: 1–7 Address to the goddess and predication (σοὶ . . .), 8–14 second address (ἔλλαθι) and predication (σέθεν δ' ἔκατι . . .), leading on to the victor's praise. The first predication refers to Nika's function as a goddess (κρίνεις τέλος . . . ἀρετᾶς), the second to its effect on mortals, anticipated by καὶ θνατοῖς (7). As in Homer, there is a divine and a human level.

1–3 The supplements adopted here are based on the following considerations: (1) After the vocative, γάρ seems required because minor divinities are often provided with an explanation of their function or sphere of activity, cf. the beginnings of B. 10, Pind. *O.* 12, *O.* 14, *P.* 8, *I.* 5; also Virg. *Aen.* 1.65–6, etc. (2) After σοὶ πατήρ, a verb like ἔδωκε/δέδωκε or ὄπασσε seems likely, cf. B. 13.77–80. If that is right, (3) a suitable object needs to be found, bearing in mind that Nika 'determines the outcome for immortals

and mortals' (6–7); σταθμάν or τεθμόν δέδωκεν seem possible, cf. Pind. *Pae.* 6.57 and *O.* 8.21–7, possibly also δῶκεν τάλαντον 'gave the scales', cf. *Il.* 19.223, Thgn. 157. Where this kind of predication is rather specific, it may be emphasized by μόνος/μόνα, 'a traditional element in Greek prayers and hymns' (Barrett on Eur. *Hipp.* 1280–2, with parallels), cf. Melinno's *Hymn to Rome*, *SH* 541.1–6 χαῖρέ μοι, Πῶμα . . . σοὶ μόναι, πρέσβιστα, δέδωκε Μοῖρα κῦδος κτλ., and Kall. *h.* 5.132–3 Παλλάς, ἐπεὶ μόναι Ζεὺς τόγε θυγατέρων | δῶκεν Ἀθαναΐαι πατρῷα πάντα φέρεσθαι.

4 ἐν . . . <τ'> Ὀλύμπωι: for τε connecting a main clause specifying or supplementing the preceding one, see K-G II 242 with examples; Schwyzler II 574; Ruijgh, *TE épique* §§ 20 and 27.

πολυχρύσωι: on Olympus, the gods live in golden houses (*Il.* 4.1–2; 13.21–2; Pind. *N.* 10.88; *I.* 3.78; Eur. *Hipp.* 69; *Heracl.* 915–16; *Ion* 459). As gold is a symbol of immortality, things belonging to gods are often golden, cf. Kirk on *Il.* 4.2.

5 Ζηνὶ παρισταμένα: Nika and the other children of Styx and Pallas 'have their seats always next to Zeus' (Hes. *Th.* 386–7), while Styx herself dwells far from the gods (*Th.* 777). In Pindar, this kind of association of divine powers is expressed by πάρεδρος (*O.* 2.76; *O.* 8.22; *N.* 7.1; *I.* 7.3; cf. Sim. *PMG* 519 fr. 120b.5). On B.'s interpretation of Hesiod's genealogy, see below, 9n.

6–7 κρίνεις τέλος . . . ἀρετᾶς 'you judge the outcome of prowess', cf. 17.45–6 τὰ δ' ἐπιόντα δα[ίμων]ν κρινεῖ and Pind. *O.* 13.104 ἐν θεῶι γε μὲν τέλος (with reference to future successes).

ἄθανατοῖσιν τε καὶ θνατοῖς: the first half of the strophe refers to Nika's function among the immortals (which may imply a reference to the gods' victory over the Titans, cf. Hes. *Th.* 383–403), the second to her function among mortals. Lines 1–7 are a classic tricolon: (a) Invocation (Νίκη γλυκύδωρε), (b) first predication (?μόναι γάρ → Οὐρανίδας), (c) second predication (Nika as judge, ἐν πολ. Ὀλ. → ἀρετᾶς).

8 ἔλλαθι 'be gracious', an Aeolic form (perfect imperative) according to Choiboboskos, *An. Ox.* II 224.16. The α should be short, as in τέθναθι and τέτλαθι, but is measured long here, apparently in analogy to Homeric ἴληθι (*Od.* 3.380).

9 κούρα Σ[τυγὸς ὅρ]θοδίκου: Styx is herself the 'great oath of the gods' (Hes. *Th.* 400); she punishes a god's perjury (*Th.* 793–5), which implies the notion of sanction against wrong-doing. B. develops this idea further by calling her 'right-judging' because he addresses his ode to her daughter

Nika who has taken the ‘right’ decision in awarding victory to Alexidamos, after he had earlier been denied an Olympic victory (see 24n.). B. adapts Hesiod’s genealogy to the system of ‘epinician’ values.

σέθεν δ’ ἔκατι ‘thanks to you’. ἔκητι after a god’s name in the genitive (= ‘by N’s will’) is first found in the *Odyssey* (15.319; 19.86; 20.42) and in early lyric poetry; the later meaning ‘for the sake of’, ‘because of’ is not found before Pindar and tragedy; the earliest instance is *P.* 10.58 of 498 BCE: ἔκατι στεφάνων (equivalent to Νίκας ἔκατι), then *N.* 8.47 ἔκατι ποδῶν ‘on account of <the speed of> his feet’ and *Pae.* 9.45–6 (Apollo entrusted the people of Thebes to Teneros) ἀνορέας . . . ἔκατι σάοφρονος ‘because of his sagacious courage’; the three passages illustrate the shift in the use of ἔκατι + gen.; cf. Leumann, *Hom. Wörter* 251–8.

10–11 εὐγύιων . . . νέων: the compound is unparalleled, as are nearly all compounds with γυι(ο)– or –γυιος. While Pindar applies them to human limbs only in *O.* 9.111 (δεξιόγυιος) and *N.* 9.24 (νεογύιους φῶτας) and elsewhere uses them in phrases like ἀγλαόγυιον Ἥβαν (*N.* 7.4) or νίκαν θρασύγυιον (*P.* 8.37), B. applies them in vivid descriptions of physical beauty (Briseis is ἱμερόγυιος 13.137; the Nereids’ limbs shine like fire, 17.103–5) or physical strength (γυια[λκέα σῶ]ματα 9.38).

12 εὐφροσύναι ‘festivities’, see 3.85–92n.

θεότιμον ἄστυ: praise for the victor’s home town was a standard element in victory odes. In three of his odes, B. refers to it briefly first, using it as a cue for the myth, but then treats it more fully in the final part, as he does here in 115–26; cf. 9.4 → 98–104 and 13.71 → 182–9. In all three odes, the myth is conceived as praise for the victor’s homeland or home town. In Pindar, too, references to the home town in the early part of the ode tend to be brief, while in the central part they are often quite detailed; a good example is *O.* 13 where the first reference (3–23) is just a list of the assets of Corinth, whereas the second celebrates the town in a mythical narrative (49–92), and *N.* 1 where praise for Ortygia (1–4) is followed by a much longer praise for Sicily (13–18); see Thummer 1 65.

13–14 ὕμνεῦσι δὲ . . . Φαίσκου: the end of the prayer of thanks to Nika furnishes two essential items of information, the name of the games and the patronymic which gives the cue for the description of the wrestling contest that follows, providing a smooth transition to the victor’s praise (15–39).

15–17 ἴλεωι . . . βλεφά[ρῳ] ‘with gracious eye’; Pindar uses similar expressions in *I.* 2.18 (εἶδ’ Ἀπόλλων νιν πόρε τ’ ἀγλαῖαν), *P.* 8.18–20 (Apollo

εὐμενεῖ νόωι . . . ἔδεκτο . . . ἔστεφανωμένον υἱόν); in *O.* 14.15–16 and *P.* 12.4–5, other goddesses ‘receive’ the victor, or (in *Paeon* 5.44–8) the chorus. ἴλεωι takes up ἔλλαθι (8), providing a link between the first two strophes. For βλέφαρον in the sense of ‘gaze’ cf. Sim. *PMG* 579.4 (Ἀρετὰ is not visible πάντων βλέφαροισι θνατῶν). The idea that a god controls a mortal by ‘gazing’ at him is first found in *Il.* 1.200; cf. Hes. *Th.* 82 (hence Kall. fr. 1.37 and Horace, *Carm.* 4.3.2), Ibykos *PMG* 287, Aesch. *Septem* 667, Pind. *P.* 3.85, *O.* 7.11, *P.* 8.68, Ap. Rhod. 4.475–6; further parallels have been collected by Headlam on Herodas 4.73.

17–20 πολέες . . . στέφανοι . . . ἔπεςον: the spectators showered the victor with garlands, cf. Pind. *P.* 9.123 and Paus. 6.7.1; the custom was known as φυλλοβολία, cf. Eratosthenes, *FGrHist* 241 F 14. Pindar and B. use the image metaphorically, cf. *P.* 8.57 and B. 4.10n.

ἐν πεδίωι . . . Κίρρας: 4.14n.

21 ἦρα . . . πάλας: ἦρα + gen. ‘on account of’ (= χάριν + gen.) is first found here, unparalleled before the Hellenistic age (Kall. fr. 231 etc.); its origin may have been the explanation of Homeric ἦρα ‘gratification’ (*Il.* 1.572 etc.) as χάριν: Schol. A on *Il.* 1.572 explains that ‘more recent authors (οἱ νεώτεροι) use the word as a conjunction in the accusative, in the sense of χάριν, ἔνεκα’ (= Suda ε 2316).

22–3 οὐκ εἰ[τ] δέ νιν ἀέλιος . . . πεσόντα: an explanatory *asyndeton* which ‘caps’ the preceding praise passage. B. uses the same phrase in a positive sense in 5.40 εἶδε νικάσαντα . . . Ἀώς; negative phrases expressing ‘victory’ are used occasionally, perhaps for the sake of variation, by Pindar (*P.* 5.34; *I.* 2.20–1; *N.* 3.15–16; *N.* 6.14; *N.* 7.72 αὐχένα . . . ἄδιδαντον) and B. 5.43–5; cf. *AP* 9.588; 16.24 and 25; Quint. Smyrn. 4.296 and 319.

κείνωι γε σὺν ἄματι ‘throughout that day’ (on this rare meaning of σὺν see 125n.). On that day, at any rate (γε), Alexidamos was successful (even though on a previous occasion he had been disappointed); see Denniston 122–3 on this usage of γε.

24 φάσω δέ: phrases of this type are sometimes used to introduce superlatives or statements equivalent to superlatives (5.42n.). Compared to 5.42–5 (‘no horse was in front of Pherenikos’), 8.19–25 (‘nobody won more victories than Liparion’), Pind. *O.* 2.90–5 (‘there was no benefactor greater than Theron’), the statement announced in 11.24 is indeed a bold one: he would have won at Olympia, had not a god, or human error, deprived him of victory (34–6). The motif of the ‘lost victory’ occurs first in Homer, *Il.* 23.382–97, and in B. 4.11–13, Pind. *N.* 6.61–3 and

N. 11.22–9; *B.* 11.24–36 is more radical in that it amounts to an allegation of corruption, or at least bias, on the part of the judges (= *τις* in 27). Examples of unfair decisions by judges in the Olympic games are reported by Plut. *Mor.* 1000a (the people of Elis favour Eleian competitors), Paus. 6.3.7 (two judges were fined by the Olympic Council for voting in favour of an Eleian), and Diod. 1.95.2 (Bokchoris tells the Eleians that they can conduct the Games most fairly if no Eleian takes part, cf. *Hdt.* 2.160). In *B.* 11.24–36, the motif of the ‘lost victory’ serves a dual purpose: (1) it is an additional element of praise for the victor (he ought to have won, he deserved victory), (2) it is ‘foil’ for the actual victory. As the passage is framed by references to the actual victory in 23 (κείνωι γε σὺν ἄματι . . .) and 37 (νῦν δὲ κτλ.), the second function is strongly emphasized. References to earlier misfortunes in Pind. *O.* 12.10–19 and *I.* 1.36–8 serve an analogous purpose.

26–7 δίκας κέλευθον εἰ μὴ τις ἀπέτραπεν ὀρθᾶς ‘had not someone twisted the course of upright justice’. The phrase implies the idea of Justice walking on a straight path; humans can deviate from it (παρεκβαίνουσι δικαίου, Hes. *Op.* 226), but Justice is herself ‘the course (path) of justice’, i.e. the procedure of finding and administering justice. This course can be diverted or deflected, so that it is no longer ‘straight’ (cf. Pind. *O.* 7.46–7 ‘the cloud of forgetfulness παρέλκει πραγμάτων ὀρθὰν ὁδὸν ἕξω φρενῶν’). This idea, too, goes back to Hesiod (*Op.* 262 βασιλῆης . . . ἄλλῃι παρκλίνωσι δίκας σκολιῶς ἐνέποντες). By combining Hesiod’s images of Justice walking on her path and of the ‘crooked judgements’, *B.* mixes the notions of Δίκη ‘Justice’ and δίκαι ‘judgements’, as does Pindar when he says of the victor, Diagoras, in *O.* 7.90–1 that he ‘travels straight on a path hostile to arrogance’, ὕβριος ἐχθρὰν ὁδὸν (= δίκας ὁδόν) εὐθυπορεῖ.

τις: one of the judges of the games (ἄγωνοθέται).

27–30 εἰ μὴ τις . . . ἰκέσθαι: if Platt’s supplements in 30 ἵταλ]ῖ[αν πᾶτ]ραν θ’ be accepted, the unfulfilled conditional clause would lack the particle ἄν in the *apodosis*. For examples in both poetry and prose, see K-G 1 216 (§ 393.2 and 3) and Schwyzer II 353.

28 παγξένωι . . . ἐλαϊᾷ ‘the olive that is there for all comers’; cf. Pind. *O.* 3.18 (the olive at Olympia is φύτευμα ξυνὸν ἀνθρώποις).

30 πορπιτρόφον [ἵταλ]ῖ[αν ‘calf-breeding Italy’; the Sicilian historian Timaios claimed that the name ‘Italia’ was derived from the Greek word for cattle, ἰταλοί (= *vituli*), which were plentiful in Italy; cf. *FGH Hist* 566 F 42a = Gellius, *NA* 11.1.1.

31–3 – – – – –] παῖδ' . . . ποικίλαις τέχναις πέλασσαν: παῖδ(α) must be the object of πέλασσαν; the dative, τέχναις, could be indirect object in the sense of (a) 'he entangled him in his tricks' or 'skill' (cf. [Hes.] fr. 33a.21–2 Periklymenos πολέας δὲ μελαίνῃ κῆρι πέλασσε | κτείνων), or (b) 'he provided him with tricks' (cf. Pind. *O.* 1.78 κράτει δὲ πέλασον sc. ἐμέ 'give me strength'), or (c) an instrumental dative, with something like 'to the ground' (οὐδεῖ?, ποτὶ γαῖ?) to be supplied in 30 (cf. B. 9.37–8 ὑπερθ)υμῶνι σ[θένε]ι . . . [σώ]ματα [πρὸς γ]αῖᾱι πελάσσαις 'with bold strength . . . throwing bodies to the ground', cf. *Il.* 23.719 οὗτ' Ὀδυσσεὺς δύναντο σφῆλαι οὐδεῖ τε πελάσσαι, sc. Aias in wrestling). I have adopted (c) because in the context of wrestling, ποικίλαις τέχναις is most likely to be an instrumental dative, as in B. 13.49 (cf. Pind. *P.* 4.249), and because B. 9.37–9 provides a close parallel for a vivid description of the wrestling match. This would point to something like '(he would have come home victorious), for he had his opponent on the ground': [οὐδεῖ γ' ἀντίπαλον] or better [ἦ τινα γὰρ ποτὶ γαῖ] (30) παῖδ(α) . . . πέλασσαν (33) 'for he brought many a boy to the ground by his cunning skills' (for τινα = 'many', cf. Pind. *N.* 1.64 καὶ τινα . . . ἀνδρῶν).

34–6 ἀλλ' ἢ θεὸς αἴτιος, ἢ [γ]υνῶμαι . . . βροτῶν κτλ.: in Homer, to make a god responsible is always presented as an antithesis, e.g. when Priam says to Helen (*Il.* 3.164–5) 'for me, you are not guilty: the gods are guilty who have stirred up war against me', or when Telemachos excuses Phemios (*Od.* 1.347–8) 'not the singers are guilty, ἀλλὰ ποθὶ Ζεὺς αἴτιος', while Homer's heroes excuse themselves by shifting the blame onto the gods (Agamemnon in *Il.* 19.86–7, Odysseus in *Od.* 11.558–60), even Achilles' horse, Xanthos, apologizes for having predicted his master's death, *Il.* 19.409–10 οὐδέ τοι ἡμεῖς αἴτιοι, ἀλλὰ θεὸς τε μέγας καὶ Μοῖρα κραταιή; cf. Thgn. 133–4 and Eur. *Suppl.* 734–6. B., however, presents this motif as an alternative, adapting it to the overriding requirement of the victory ode, i.e. to turn everything that could be said about the victor or the circumstances of his victory to his advantage – even a *lost* victory! The first part of the alternative (θεὸς αἴτιος) is conventional and merely prepares the ground for the second (γυνῶμαι . . . βροτῶν): Alexidamos was powerless against either. The purpose here is not, as in Homer, to present an excuse but to turn even failure or disappointment into praise: he did defeat his opponent(s) (31–3n.), only a superior power – god, or human envy – was able to wrest victory from his hands.

γ]υνῶμαι πολὺπλαγκτοὶ βροτῶν 'the judgements of mortals which often go astray'. For the compound in passive sense, cf. *Od.* 17.425

(ληιστήρες), Aesch. *Supp.* 572 (Io), also Eur. *Hipp.* 240 παρεπλάγχθη γνῶμας ἀγαθᾶς, and the late epigram *IG* 14.1424 (4th cent. CE ?) βροτῶν πολυπλάγκτοισιν πραπίδεσσιν; in active sense B. 13.181 of the sea which drives ships off course, as does the wind in *Il.* 11.308 (in Soph. *Ant.* 615 πολ. ἐλπίς could be either).

36 ἄ]μερσαν: usually with gen., but in *h.Dem.* 312 and here with acc. in analogy to ἀφελεῖν, cf. *Il.* 16.53–4 ὅππότε δὴ τὸν ὁμοῖον ἀνὴρ ἐθέλησιν ἀμέρσαι | καὶ γέρας ἄψ ἀφελέσθαι.

37–9 νῦν δ' . . . ἔδωκε takes up 10–14 καὶ νῦν κτλ.; the verbal echo audibly marks the end of the first praise passage. In addition, Artemis is introduced here: it is to her that Alexidamos owes his victory, and she is also the central figure of the myth for which her mention in 37 provides the cue.

Ἄρτεμις ἀγροτέρα: cf. *Il.* 21.470–1 πότνια θηρῶν, | Ἄρτεμις ἀγροτέρη. The epithet (whether it be derived from ἀγρός or from ἄγρα) points to the open countryside. B. may have understood this cult title in the sense of ‘huntress’, as τοξόκλυτος (39) suggests; cf. the scholion *PMG* 886.3–4 ἐλαφιβόλον τ' ἀγροτέραν Ἄρτεμιν. Likewise, Pindar describes the huntress, Kyrene, as ἀγροτέρα (*P.* 9.6).

χρυσαλάκατος: in Homer and in the Homeric hymns, it is always said of Artemis (*Il.* 16.183 etc.). Pindar and B. give this epithet to other goddesses, too: Pind. *O.* 6.104 (Amphitrite), *N.* 6.36 and *Thren.* 3.1 (Leto), *N.* 5.36 (Nereids), *Hymn* 1.1 (Melia); B. 9.1 (Charites). None of these goddesses have anything to do with arrows, which makes the derivation offered by the scholia on *Il.* 16.183, 20.70 and 6.491 (καλλίτοξος, ἡλακάτη = βέλος ‘arrow’, or κάλαμος, δόναξ ‘reed’) unlikely, even though it seems to have been known in the fifth century, as Aesch. fr. 8 R. called river-banks πολυηλάκατα. Alternatively, the compound could mean ‘of the golden shuttle’, which would make it a typically female epithet suggesting brightness and divine splendour. The four epithets given to Artemis here go in pairs, the first and the last describing the huntress (ἀγροτέρα – τοξόκλυτος), the other two the ‘soother’ (χρυσαλάκατος – ἡμέρα).

Ἡμῖερα, the ‘Gentle’, was Artemis’ cult name at Lousoi (*IG* v 2.403; Paus. 8.18.8; Kall., *h.Dian.* 236). The contrast to Artemis the huntress and πότνια θηρῶν is clearly deliberate, as in Anakreon *PMG* 348 (ἀγρίων δέσποινα Ἄρτεμι θηρῶν . . . οὐ γὰρ ἀνημέρους ποιμαίνεις πολιήτας ‘mistress of beasts of the wild, Artemis, . . . they are no wild and untamed

people that you have for your flock’, and Kall. *h.Dian.* 236 (where ἄγριον refers to the Proitids’ madness healed by Artemis ‘Ημέρα; cf. *IG XII* 1.698.7 (Rhodes, 3rd cent. BCE: ‘Ημέριος son of Ἀγριος). The ‘cluster’ of four epithets at the point where Artemis makes her first appearance illustrates her importance. She is the dominating figure of the ode, who links the myth of Proitos’ daughters to Metapontion and Alexidamos.

40–112 B. begins with the end of the story, then goes back in stages to its beginning, and eventually moves forward again to its conclusion (110–12). The narrative is punctuated by the recurrence of the ‘flight’ motif between each section: 43 → 55 φεύγον → 82–4 ἀπεσσύμεναι . . . φεύγον → 93–4 ἡλύκταζον . . . φεύγόν τε. Into this ‘rondo’ structure are inserted two digressions, the first of which (47–54) names the cause of the girls’ madness and flight, the second (59–81) explains why they lived with Proitos at Tiryns, having left Argos ten years before. The point farthest back in time is the quarrel between Proitos and Akrisios (64–6). Then, two further scenes, Proitos’ despair (85–91) and his prayer at the river Lousos (95–105), lead to the girls’ deliverance by Artemis and their dedication of the sanctuary (106–12) with which the narrative had begun. It is a ‘classic’ example of ring composition.

40 Ἀβαντιάδας: Abas, son of Lynkeus and Hypermetra, was Proitos’ and Akrisios’ father, Apollod. 2.2.1; cf. Paus. 2.16.1–2 for the list of the mythical kings of Argos.

41 κατένασσε: the compound is usually said of ‘settling’ people, only here in the sense of ‘he established’ a sanctuary and altar (= ἱδρύσατο).

πολύλλ[ι]στον: said proleptically, ‘at which many prayers would be made’. On the proleptic use of adjectives, see 16.26n.

43–5 ἐξ ἐρατῶν . . . μελάθρων Προίτου: ἐρατός is a favourite word in lyric poetry, cf. B. 17.110 (Amphitrite’s palace) and fr. 4.79 (symposia in peacetime). The contrast between their father’s ‘lovely’ house and ‘all-powerful’ (παγκρατής) Hera who chases them from it highlights the daughters’ misery. As so often, B. focusses on the emotional aspect of his story; his choice of the epithets is designed to create compassion for the girls, whose cruel fate is described before its cause is mentioned (47–8n.).

45–6 παραπλήγι . . . ἀνάγκαι: παραπλήξ is first found in *Od.* 5.418, said of the beach on which the waves break obliquely; of mental derangement first here and in Hdt. 5.92.7; cf. Ar. *Lys.* 831 ἀνδρα

παραπεπληγμένον (of sexual passion), *Plutos* 242 παραπληγ' ἄνθρωπον. The word is used with active meaning ('hitting the mind sideways', παρα-) only here in B.; cf. Io's φρενοπληγείς μανίας Aesch. *Prom.* 878.

ζεύξασ': the image of the yoke (Hes. *Op.* 581 and 815 ἐπὶ ζυγὸν αὐχένι θεῖναι) is used metaphorically in *h.Dem.* 216–7 ἀλλὰ θεῶν μὲν δῶρα καὶ ἀχρύνενοι περ ἀνάγκῃ τέτλαμεν ἄνθρωποι· ἐπὶ γὰρ ζυγὸς αὐχένι κεῖται ('we humans suffer the gods' gifts groaning, through necessity, for on the neck there is a yoke', after *Il.* 6.458). Cf. Thgn. 1023–4; 1357–8; 847–8 and Barrett on Eur. *Hipp.* 1389–90. Madness, in particular, is often seen, as here in B. and also in tragedy, as a yoke, cf. Soph. *Ai.* 123 (Aias) ἄττη συγκατέζευκται κακῇι and Aesch. *Prom.* 577–8 where Io says to Zeus τίποτε ταῖσδ' ἐνέζευξας . . . ἐν πημοναῖσιν;

47–8 παρθενίᾱ . . . ψυχᾱ 'with childish soul': B. presents their youth as extenuating circumstance (surely not as 'aggravating their presumption', as Jebb thought); cf. Soph. *Ai.* 558–9 (Aias to his son:) τέως δὲ κούφοις πνεύμασιν βόσκου, νέαν ψυχὴν ἀτάλλων [Eur. *Hipp.* 1006 is different: παρθένον ψυχὴν ἔχων refers to chastity]. ψυχή meaning 'soul' (of a living person) is not found before Herakleitos (B 45, see Snell, *Discovery* 17) and the lyric poets (see H. Fränkel, *Early Greek poetry* 298 on Anakreon *PMG* 360).

τέμενος: Hera's sanctuary near Argos. Although Proitos and his family had moved from Argos to Tiryns (57 and 71), the Heraion remained part of his kingdom, cf. Paus. 2.16.2.

49 πορφυροζώνοιο 'purple-belted', only here and (as a gloss on ἰόζωνος in Kallim. fr. 110.54) in Hesych. 1737. Hera's belt, which she obtained from Aphrodite in *Il.* 14.214–7, is there described as ποικίλος; for the erotic connotations of the colour 'purple' in lyric poetry cf. Sappho fr. 54; Anakreon *PMG* 357 and 358.

50–2 φάσκον . . . εὐρυβίᾱ: in the sanctuary, the girls claim that their father was much richer than Hera; their arrogance evidently refers to the modest temple and/or its cult image. The same motive for their punishment is reflected by both Pherekydes (*FGrHist* 3 F 114 παραγενόμεναι γὰρ εἰς τὸν τῆς θεοῦ νεῶν ἔσκαπτον αὐτὸν λέγουσαι πλουσιώτερον μᾶλλον εἶναι τὸν τοῦ πατρὸς οἶκον 'when they entered the goddess's temple they ridiculed it, saying that their father's house was much richer'), whose account agrees closely with the wording in B. (see above, pp. 134–6), and Akusilaos (*FGrHist* 2 F 28 τὸ τῆς Ἥρας ξόανον ἐξηυτέλισαν), which suggests that they both summarized the story from an epic source, such as the *Phoronis*, or the

‘Hesiodic’ *Catalogue*, (see above, p. 135). The story of Niobe’s punishment is similarly motivated.

51 **προφέρειν** ‘was superior’; the intransitive use is not attested before the fifth century, e.g. in Hdt. 6.127.4 (Hippokleides πλούτῳ καὶ εἰδεῖ προφέρων Ἀθηναίων) and Thuc. 1.123.1 (εἰ ἄρα πλούτῳ . . . καὶ ἐξουσίαι ὀλίγον προφέρετε); for further parallels, see LSJ s.v. *προφέρω* iv.2.

παρέδρου ‘consort’ (‘not elsewhere used of a wife’, Kenyon) for the conventional epic *παράκοιτις*.

52 **σεμονῦ Διὸς εὐρυβίᾱ**: Kenyon’s correction (*εὐρυβίαι* pap.) is likely to be correct in view of 5.99 *σεμνᾶς χόλον Ἀρτέμιδος λευκωλένου* and 5.174–5 *χρυσέας Κύπριδος θελξιμβρότου*: the phrase here may well follow the same pattern (simple adjective + name of divinity + compound epithet).

54 **παλίντροπον ἔμβαλεν νόημα** (*ομμα* pap.; the scribe misread H for M in his exemplar): Hera ‘put into their hearts (*στήθεσσι*) deranged thinking’ (not ‘an impulse that turned them to flight’, Jebb and LSJ); *πάλιν* means either ‘again’ or ‘back’, so *παλίντροπον νόημα* might be a thought that turned the girls ‘back’ (home), not away from home. What the compound means here is illustrated by other phrases describing mental derangement: Io speaks of her *φρένες διάστροφοι* (Aesch. *Prom.* 673), and Aias uses the same phrase (Soph. *Ai.* 447); cf. Soph. *Phil.* 815 *τί παραφρονεῖς αὔ*; Aesch. *Sept.* 806 *παραφρονῶ φόβῳ λόγου*. Normal, healthy thinking travels towards its target in a straight line; if it is disturbed, it is hit off course, or led astray, so that it cannot reach its target but is turned ‘aside’ or ‘sideways’ (*παρὰ-*) or ‘back’ (*παλιν-*); see Griffith on Aesch. *Prom.* 133–4; O’Brian-Moore, *Madness* 58.

The girls’ madness is referred to again at the end of their story when Proitos prays to Artemis, asking her ‘to deliver his children from the wretched frenzy that deranged them’ (*τέκνα δυστάνοιο λύσσας | πάρ-φρονος ἐξαγαγεῖν*, 102–3): the close correspondence of beginning and end of the mythical narrative section confirms that *παλίντροπον νόημα* is *παραφρονεῖν*, *παράνοια*.

55–6 **φεῦγον . . . φωνὰν ἰεῖσαι**: in their frenzied flight in the wooded hills, the girls resemble maenads, cf. *h.Dem.* 386 *ἥντε μαινὰς ὄρος κατὰ δάσκιον ὕληϊς* and Eur. *Ba.* 217–20, as do their terrible shrieks, cf. Eur. *Ba.* 155–9. This may be a reminiscence of the original ‘Dionysiac’ version of the myth, in which the madness was sent by Dionysos and cured by Melampous (Diod. 4.68 and Apollod. 1.9.12, see above p. 135).

ὄρος ἐς τανίφυλλον: Tiryns is in the Argive plain which consists mainly of pastures, the ἱππόβοτον Ἄργος; wooded hills are quite a distance away. Kall., *h.Dian.* 235 makes them roam οὐρεα . . . Ἀζήνια, the hills of northern Arcadia.

57 Τιρύνθιον ἄστν λιποῦσαι: cf. Phrynichos' *Phoinissai*, *TrGF* 1 3 F 9 Σιδώνιον ἄστν λιποῦσαι – both phrases possibly borrowed from epic.

58 θεοδμάτους 'god-built', i.e. by the Cyclopes at the order of Zeus, cf. Apollod. 2.2.1; Schol. Eur. *Or.* 965; Strabo 8.6.2 (C 368); Paus. 2.16.5 and 25.8.

ἀγυαίς: here, B. seems to distinguish between ἄστν 'city' and ἀγυαί 'streets' or 'town quarters' (cf. 3.16 and fr. 4.79), as does Homer (*Il.* 5.642 Herakles Ἰλίου ἐξαλάπαξε πόλιν, χήρωσε δ' ἀγυαίς); in 9.17 and 52, and in 14B.4, ἀγυαί seems to be an 'augmentative' plural (like μέγαρα, δόμοι etc., see Schwyzer II 43 with examples and bibliography) in the sense of 'city', as in Pindar, *P.* 2.58; 8.55; 9.83. This usage, not found before the fifth century BCE, seems to be peculiar to choral lyric.

59 ἦδη γάρ is the beginning of a digression which explains why Proitos and his daughters live at Tiryns, not at Argos where their ancestors Danaos, Lynkeus and Abas had lived. This digression ends with 81, returning to its point of departure: 60 λιπόντες Ἄργος → 81 Ἄργος λιπόντες, 61 ναῖον → 80 ναῖον, 62 ἡμίθεοι → 79 ἀντίθεοι (ἥρωες).

61 ἄδεισιβόαι 'fearless of the battle-cry' (5.155n.).

62 χαλκάσπιδες may be a reference to the battle between Proitos and his brother Akrisios, when (wooden!) shields were used for the first time, according to schol. Eur. *Or.* 965; cf. Paus. 2.25.7 and Apollod. 2.2.1.

63 πολυζήλωι 'much envied' (= πολυζηλώτωι), see Barrett on Eur. *Hipp.* 168. Ten years of peaceful rule over Tiryns are the 'foil' to Proitos' misery and despair, 85–95.

64–76 νεῖκος γάρ . . . ἀχέων: exactly in the middle of the first digression (59–81), B. inserts a second digression to explain why Proitos had left Argos – a further step back in time, preceded and followed by passages of five lines each. The formal symmetry of the central passage is shown by verbal and thematic correspondences: 64–5 νεῖκος γάρ ἀμαιμάκετον . . . ἀνέπαλτο → 76 παῦσαι στυγερῶν ἀχέων (noun-adjective-verb ↔ verb-adjective-noun) and 68 ἥρειπον . . . μάχαις τε λυγραῖς → 72 ἐς ἀργαλέον πεσεῖν ἀνάγκαν. It was probably not for the sake of completeness that B. inserted a passage with such an elaborate 'ring' structure – he could have given the reason for Proitos' move in a few words – but because this part of the story was

important to him and/or to his audience. It is, in fact, the *leitmotiv* of this ode, on which its thematic and formal unity rests: god (Zeus) grants the prayers of supplicants in distress and delivers them from their anguish – Artemis ‘cured’ Alexidamos’ disappointment at Olympia by granting him victory at Delphi – Artemis will also heal Proitos’ misery and grief by delivering his daughters from madness. The thematic parallel is emphasized by the verbal echo: 76 παῦσαι στυγερώων ἀχέων ↔ 108–9 παῦσεν . . . μαρινᾶν ἀθέων.

64 ἀμαιμάκετον ‘overmastering’ (not ‘stubborn’, Jebb and LSJ) because it contrasts with βληχρᾶς . . . ἀπ’ ἀρχᾶς (65). B. may have derived the word either from α + μαίμαξ/μαίωμα (‘against which one cannot strive’ → ‘irresistible’, ‘unconquerable’), or from α + μάχομαι; either etymology would be compatible also with Pindar’s use of the word (*P.* 3.33 μένει θυιοῖσιν ἀμαιμακέτωι, of Artemis; *P.* 4.208 κινήθμον, of the Symplegades; *I.* 8.35 of Poseidon’s trident; *P.* 1.14 πόντον κατ’ ἄμ.); cf. Braswell on Pind. *P.* 4.208(b). It seems likely, therefore, that the explanations offered by the scholia, e.g. on Pind. *P.* 4.208 (368) ἀκαταμάχητον, schol. T on *Il.* 6.179 (Χίμαιραν ἀμαιμακέτην] τὴν ὄγαν μαίμωσαν ἢ τὴν ἀκαταμάχητον) were already familiar in the fifth century BCE.

65 βληχρᾶς . . . ἀπ’ ἀρχᾶς ‘from a feeble beginning’ – B. does not say what this was. Pindar apparently claimed that the quarrel was sparked off by Proitos’ seduction of his niece, Danae (fr. 284 = schol. ABD on *Il.* 14.319, and Apollod. 2.4.1). As no other reason is mentioned anywhere else, it seems that B. knew this story but did not wish to mention it; by calling it a ‘feeble beginning’, he plays it down because it would have discredited Proitos, whom he portrays as a positive character in 85–105. In addition, he thus creates an example of an insignificant cause that threatens to throw entire populations into conflict and ruin (68), illustrating the absurdity of war; see below, 69n.

ἀνέπαλτο ‘had sprung up’, from ἀναπάλλεσθαι ‘to leap up’, cf. *Il.* 23.692; Leumann, *Hom. Wörter* 60 suspects that the original form may have been ἔπ–αλτο (from ἄλλομαι, as an early case of *psilosis*), interpreted as ἔ–παλτο in epic sources.

67–8 διχοστασίαις ἤρειπον ἀμετροδίκοις ‘they were about to wreck their people with their unrighteous quarrels’. ἐρείπειν ‘to tear down’ is first used metaphorically in Sim. *PMG* 543.5 of Danae: ἀνέμος τε . . . κινήθεῖσά τε λίμνα δέματι ἔρειπεν ‘the wind blowing and the sea stirring shattered her with fear’; cf. Soph. *Ant.* 596–7 ἄλλ’ ἐρείπει θεῶν τις, sc. the Labdakids’

house. For the imperfect ‘of attempted action’ (ἤρειπον ‘they were about to wreck’) cf. Eur. *IT* 27 ἔκαινόμην ξίφει and K-G I 141–2 with more examples, also Goodwin, *Syntax* 12 § 36.

ἄμετροδίκους: only here; ‘compounds with ἄμετρο– usually mean ‘unmeasured’ in respect to that which is denoted by the subst.’ Jebb, who quotes ἄμετροεπής (*Il.* 2.212, of Thersites who is ἄμετρος ἐν τῷ λέγειν, schol. D ad loc.). B. seems to have interpreted this as ‘he who ignores the measure of speech’ and coined ἄμετρόδικος as an analogy.

69 λίσσονται: the subject is λαοί (67). In 15.45–6, it is the *people* of Troy who pray to the gods to end the misery of war. B. strongly emphasizes that war, caused by the greed or arrogance of the leaders, brings nothing but suffering to their people, and so, if Proitos and Akrisios had gone to war against each other, this would have been the predictable result. The horror of war is brought into prominence three times, always at the end of a sentence and with strongly ‘loaded’ epithets: 68 μάχαις τε λυγραῖς – 72 ἀργαλέαν . . . ἀνάγκαν – 76 στυγερῶν ἀχέων. Pindar has a similar but much shorter scene in *P.* 4.154, where he makes Jason ask Pelias τὰ μὲν ἄνευ ξυνῶς ἀνίας λῦσον, but he does not elaborate. B. appears to have felt more strongly about the issue of war and peace; see *Introd.* to his *Paeon* for Asine (fr. 4, pp. 225–7).

70 πολὺκριθον ‘barley-rich’; the compound, elsewhere attested only in Euphorion (51.14) and Suda *s.v.* κρίμνον, may have been coined as a variation on Homer’s πολυλῆϊος (*Il.* 5.613).

λαχόντας ‘having received’ the rich land, inherited from their father, Abas. The implication is that the plain around Argos is so fertile that it can support both brothers if the younger one settles in nearby Tiryns, so there is no need to fight. This is an interesting ‘correction’ of the (apparently older) version of the story, according to which the brothers, after their father’s death, went to war against each other; it was only after Akrisios’ victory that they agreed that Proitos should leave and settle in Tiryns (Schol. Eur. *Or.* 965 and, with slight variations, Apollod. 2.2.1 and Paus. 2.25.7). In B., however, the people (λαοί) appeal to their leaders to avoid the horrors of war and to find a peaceful solution; see 74n.

71 τὸν ὀπλότερον: only in Apollod. 2.2.1 are the brothers twins who fight already in their mother’s womb, as did Esau and Jacob in Genesis 25.22. Is it conceivable that Apollodoros’ account originated from a misunderstanding of line 65 βληχρᾶς . . . ἅπ’ ἀρχᾶς ‘from a tender age’, as Christ 1898: 142 suspected?

74 τιμῶν Δαναοῦ γενεάν: Zeus was willing to ‘honour the race of Danaos’, not by granting it supremacy or victories in war, but on the contrary, by sparing it the distress of war. Abas, father of Akrisios and Proitos, was a son of Lynkeus, the nephew and son-in-law of Danaos.

76 στυγερῶν ἀχέων ‘from their hateful distress’, after Homer’s στυγεροῦ πολέμοιο, *Il.* 4.240; 6.330, cf. B. 5.111 στυγεράν διῆριν.

77–8 Κύκλωπες . . . ὑπερφίαλοι: the same epithet is given to the Homeric Cyclopes (*Od.* 9.106), which the scholia refer to their physical height (μεγαλοφυῶν τῶι σώματι), whereas Apoll.Soph. and the D-scholia on *Il.* 15.94 take it to mean ‘overweening, arrogant’ (= ὑπερήφανος), as do Hes. *Th.* 139 and B. 15.62–3 (of the Giants, after [Hes.] fr. 43a.65). This meaning may suit the present passage too, since it would add to the prestige of Proitos and his heroes if even the mighty Cyclopes ‘who have an overbearing heart’ (ὑπέρβιον ἦτορ ἔχοντες, Hes. *Th.* 129) were at his service. For the Cyclopes as builders of the walls of Tiryns cf. Apollod. 2.2.1 and Schol. Eur. *Or.* 965 (of the walls of Mycene as well: Paus. 2.16.5), also Strabo 8.6.11 (C.373). They had come either from Thrace (Schol. Eur.) or from Lycia (Apollod. and Strabo); at any rate, it was believed that walls of such magnitude could not have been built by indigenous Greeks.

79–81 ἀντίθεοι ναῖον . . . Ἄργος . . . λιπόντες summarizes the beginning of this digression, in reverse order (60–2 λιπόντες Ἄργος ναῖον . . . ἡμίθεοι), signalling to the audience the end of the digression; see above, 64–76n.

83 κυανοπλόκαμοι ‘dark-haired’, as are Nika (5.33) and Theba (9.53); Thetis is κυανόπλοκος in Pindar (*Pae.* 6.83). On κυάνεος ‘dark’ cf. Irwin, *Colour terms* 79–110.

84 ἄδματοι θύγατρεις ‘virgin daughters’. B. portrays the girls as very young (see on 47–8 παρθενίαι . . . ψυχᾷ) in order to create compassion both for the girls and for their wretched father (85–91), so he had to remove any notion of μαχλοσύνη ‘lewdness’ that was attributed to them in an earlier version, cf. [Hes.] frs. 132–3.

85 τὸν δ’ εἶλεν ἄχος κραδίαν ‘grief seized him, i.e. his heart’, the ‘whole and part’ construction (σχημα καθ’ ὅλον καὶ μέρος) common in Homer, cf. *Il.* 23.46–7 (Achilles’ reaction to Patroklos’ death) οὐ μ’ ἔτι δεύτερον ὦδε | ἴξετ’ ἄχος κραδίην and *h.Dem.* 40 (of Demeter) ὀξύ δέ μιν κραδίην ἄχος ἔλλαβεν, cf. K-G I 289.9 with more examples, also Schwyzer II 81.

85–6 ξείνα . . . μέριμνα ‘a strange thought’. ξένος as adjective is first found here and in Pind. *P.* 4.118; for the meaning ‘unfamiliar’, Kenyon

refers to Aesch. *Prom.* 688–9 where the chorus say οὔποθ' <ὦδ'> οὔποτ' ἠΰχουνξ ἔνους | μολεῖσθαι λόγους ἐς ἀκοὰν ἐμάν 'I never expected that such strange words would ever come to my hearing'.

μέριμνα: is this (a) the thought of suicide, or (b) concern for his daughters? In either case, the implication is that Proitos had never before suffered such grief and/or thought of suicide. In favour of (a) is the fact that both B. and Pindar use the noun in the sense of βουλή 'deliberation, plan, ambition' (B. 3.57, fr. 20B.10, Pind. *P.* 8.92 etc.) because they seem to have derived it from μερμηρίζειν (glossed as βουλευέσθαι in schol. bT on *Il.* 1.189, cf. schol. Eur. *Or.* 633 διπλῆς μερίμνης] ὥς . . . διστακτικῶς ἀναλογιζομένου). B. may have been thinking of *Il.* 1.189 (see below, 87–88n.).

87–8 δοίαξε δὲ . . . πᾶσαι: the verb is found only here and in Ap. Rhod. who uses δοιάζεσκειν in the sense of Homeric δοάσσατο (3.819–20, 3.770 and 3.954–5, 4.575–6, cf. Hesych. δ 2086), while Ammonios (p. 147 Nickau) makes a clear distinction: δοάσσατο = ἔδοξεν 'he decided', δοιάσσατο = ἐδίστασε 'he was in two minds'. The same etymological combination seems to have been familiar to B. who construes δοιάζειν + infinitive, like βουλευέσθαι, = 'to resolve'. He may have been thinking of *Il.* 1.188–9 Πηλείωνι δ' ἄχος γένετ', ἐν δὲ οἱ ἦτορ | στηθεσιν λαίοισι διάνδιχα μερμήριζεν and in particular of *Od.* 10.438–42 μερμήριξα | σπασσάμενος τανύηκες ἄορ . . . ἄλλα μ' ἑταῖροι | μειλιχίοις ἐπέεσσιν ἐρήτυον. However, while in both these scenes it is anger that inspires the hero's violent reaction, in B. it is grief and despair that find dramatic expression in Proitos' pathetic resolve to kill himself. As no other source mentions this, it may well be B.'s own invention. Cf. 3.29–49 where, however, Kroisos' decision is motivated more by his pride and desire to die with dignity than by despair.

92–3 τρισκαίδεκα . . . μῆνας: i.e., one year. According to Pherekydes, (above, p. 134), perhaps reflecting an epic source, their madness lasted ten years; B. may have found this excessive.

93 ἡλύκταζον 'they roamed'. This form occurs only here and in Hdt. 9.70.4; it is derived from ἄλυκτεῖν, found once, as perf. passive, in *Il.* 10.94 where Agamemnon says ἀλαλύκτημαι, κραδίη δέ μοι ἕξω | στηθέων ἐκθρόωσκει 'I am beside myself, my heart leaps out of my breast' (explained as τεθορύβημαι, πλανῶμαι, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀλᾶσθαι τῇ διανοίᾳ in Apoll. Soph.). B. 'has used ἡλύκταζον in a way which blends the notions of mental and physical unrest' (Jebb).

95–6 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ . . . ἴκανεν: Homer, too, uses the phrase after statements of time, cf. *Il.* 6.174–5, 9.470–4, 24.784–5, *Od.* 12.397–9, also

h.Dem. 47–51. B., however, abruptly changes both subject and scene in order to speed up the narrative, as does Pindar in *P.* 4.224.

Λοῦσον: the river of Lousoi in Northern Arkadia, between Kleitor and Kynaitha, near the modern village of Χαμάκου, about 1000 metres above sea-level. The town was destroyed in hellenistic times; Pausanias (8.18.7–8) saw it in ruins, but a substantial amount of cultic material from the sanctuary of Artemis survives from the eighth century BCE onwards. Cf. Reichel and Wilhelm 1901; Jost, *Sanctuaires* 46–51; Tausend 1993: 13–26; Mitsopoulos-Leon 1993: 33–9; Sinn 1992: 177–87.

97–8 φοινικοκ[ραδέμνο]ιο ‘of the crimson headdress’. B. is remarkably fond of colour compounds, especially those denoting ‘red’, most of which are not found in any other author; so φοινικοκράδεμνος (here and 13.222), φοινικόθριξ 11.105, φοινικόνωτος 5.102, φοινίκασπης 9.10, πορφυροδίνης 9.39, πυρσόχαιτος 18.51; also πορφυρόζωνος (only 11.49 and Hesych. 1.737: perhaps coined by B.); φοινικοστερόπας (only 12.40 and Pind. *O.* 9.6).

99 βοῶπιν ‘ox-eyed’, of Artemis only here; the epithet is often given to goddesses and heroines: Amphitrite (B. 17.110), Harmonia (Pind. *P.* 3.91), Klytaimestra ([Hes.] fr. 23a.9), Stheneboia ([Hes.] fr. 129.20), various nymphs and heroines in Homer (*Il.* 18.40; 3.144; 7.10). It can hardly be interpreted as a hidden allusion to a metamorphosis into cows, or as ‘bestial imagery’, as Stern 1965: 280 suggested.

101 ἱππώκεος ἀελίου: the compound, found only here, is formed like ποδώκης. In Homer, Dawn (Ἥως) drives a two-horse chariot across the sky (*Od.* 23.244–6); the Sun himself does so in post-Homeric poetry: *h.Dem.* 63 and 88–9; Mimn. 12; Stesich. *PMG* 185 with Pherekydes *FGH Hist* 3 F 18a.

102–3 λύσσας πάρφρονος: see on 54 παλίντροπον . . . νόημα. Throughout the mythical narrative, the notions of ‘madness’ and ‘flight’ alternate: madness in 45–6, 54, 102–3; flight in 43, 55–6, 82–4, 92–4.

103 ἐξαγαγεῖν: the infinitive depends on κίκλη[σκε in 99; Proitos ‘called on’ Artemis ‘to deliver’ his daughters from their frenzy (only 103–4 are direct speech). For κικλήσκου with infinitive in Homer, cf. *Il.* 9.567–71 (Althaia) ἦρ᾽ατο . . . κικλήσκουσ’ Ἀἴδην καὶ . . . Περσεφόνειαν . . . παῖδι δόμεν θάνατον. The construction is common in both poetry and prose; see the examples in Schwyzer II 374–5.

105 ἄζυγας ‘not yet yoked’, = ἄδμήτας and ἡκέστας in Homer (*Il.* 10.292–4 = *Od.* 3.382–4; *Il.* 6.94 etc.) who says that young heifers which had not yet been under the yoke were used for sacrifice.

φοινικότριχας: red cows were preferred as sacrificial animals, cf. 5.102 βοῶν φοινικονώτων and *Il.* 13.703, 16.487–8, *Od.* 13.32, 18.371–2, *Pind. P.* 4.149 and 205, *Theokr.* 25.128, whereas black bulls are sacrificed to Poseidon in *Od.* 3.6.

106 ἀριστοπάτρα ‘daughter of the noblest father’; the epithet may imply that Artemis feels sympathetic towards a father who cares so much for his daughters. The word, found only here as an epithet, occurs as a personal name in *Strabo* (15.702); cf. *Ἀριστοπάτειρα*, daughter of the famous boxer Diagoras of Rhodes (hypothesis to *Pind. O.* 7), and Antipatros, son of Kleinopatros, a boxer for whom Polykleitos made a statue. Lykophron 838 coined the compound χρυσόπατρος for Perseus.

108 καλυκοστεφάνους ‘bud-garlanded’, as is Artemis herself in 5.98. Here the compound may be used proleptically: Artemis stopped their frenzy, so that they could garland themselves; cf. 11.41n. (βωμόν . . . πολύλλιστον), and on the proleptic use of epithets, 16.26n.

109 μανιᾶν ἄθεων ‘god-forsaken frenzies’. ἄθεος, like its stronger equivalent μισόθεος (*Aesch. Ag.* 1090, see E. Fraenkel ad loc.), is the criminal who ignores god, but also someone who is ignored, or abandoned, by god; cf. *Od.* 18.353 οὐκ ἄθεεῖ (= οὐκ ἄνευ θεοῦ, schol.) and especially *Soph. OT* 661 (chorus) ἄθεος ἄφιλος . . . ὀλοίμαν, 254 γῆς ὦδ’ ἀκάρπως κᾶθέως ἐφθαρμένης, *El.* 1181 ὦ σὼμ’ ἀτίμως κᾶθέως ἐφθαρμένον. It is in this sense that B. uses the word: by their madness, the girls have been reduced to a state where they had been abandoned by the gods, until Artemis rescued them. Here, too, B. tries to create compassion.

110–12 The narrative moves to a very swift conclusion, yet even this short section, despite its rapid pace, shows the poet’s desire for careful composition and variation: each of the three short sentences has a verb in the imperfect, the first at the end (τεῦχον), the second at the beginning (χραῖνον), the third in the middle (ἴσταν).

111 μήλων: Proitos had promised to sacrifice red cows (104). As Simonides called the bull who abducted Europa not only ταῦρος but also μῆλον and πρόβατον (*PMG* 562), one might suspect that B., too, could have used the word in the general sense of ‘cattle’. On balance, however, it seems more likely that Proitos’ sacrifice of cows is taken for granted, and that the sheep are an additional sacrifice by the girls themselves.

112 χορούς ἴσταν γυναικῶν ‘they instituted choruses of women’, evidently an *aition* explaining the origin of female choruses in the cult of Artemis

Hemera at Lousoi. Choruses of dancing girls are very often associated with cults of Artemis: see introduction to ode 20 (p. 225); Calame, *Les chœurs de jeunes filles* 1 174–90; Burkert, *Greek religion* 103; 150–2.

113 ἀρηϊφίλοις: the people of Metapontion were peaceful and usually remained neutral in wars, as did the people of Achaia in the Peloponnese, at least until the fifth century BCE. By calling them ‘war-loving’, B. anticipates their equation with the Homeric Achaians, see below, 126n.

115 σὺν δὲ τύχῃ: ‘with happy fortune’ is a very approximate rendering which does not take the etymology into account. Parallels like B. 5.52, 9.51, Pind. *N.* 5.48, *N.* 10.25, *I.* 8.67, *N.* 6.24 (σὺν θεοῦ δὲ τύχῃ), *O.* 8.67 (τύχῃ δαίμονος), *N.* 4.7 (σὺν Χαρίτων τύχῃ), *P.* 2.56 (σὺν τύχῃ πότμου) suggest that the notion of τυγχάνειν ‘to achieve’, ‘to gain one’s request’, ‘to hit one’s target’ was associated with the noun. Even though σὺν τύχῃ is a general phrase, in epinician odes it implies victories in games, so here the Pythian victory which Alexidamos had been granted by Artemis.

119–20 Κάσαν: the river which flows south of Metapontion and into the gulf of Taranto; Pliny, *NH* 3.15.3 calls it Casuentus, its modern name is Basento.

προγο | νοιεσσάμενοι (pap.) must be corrupt, as the metre indicates: 119 must end in ~ | (or even ~ ||, with period end). πρόγονοι could well be a gloss (like ποταμῶν in 16.34), which may have been added to clarify who the subject of this sentence was (if it was not stated, it had to be inferred from Ἀχαιοῖς in 114), or it replaced the word it was meant to explain. In any case, a finite verb is required, either at the end of 119, or it is hidden in εσσάμενοι. The latter approach is implied in the emendation Κάσα (gen.) παρ’ εὐσδρον πόρον (ρόον Maas) | ἔσσαν πρόγονοι, suggested by Carey 1980: 238; the former would produce an alternative solution: Κάσαν παρ’ εὐσδρον κτίσαν (Turyñ 1924: 112) | σταθμασάμενοι κτλ., ‘they founded a delightful grove, measuring it out by the fair waters of the Kasas’, cf. Pind. *O.* 10.45 (Herakles) ἐν Πίσσι . . . σταθμᾶτο ζάθεον ἄλσος.

123–4 δικαίως . . . φρένας: cf. 3.67–8 ὅσ[τις μ]ὴ φθόνῳι πιαίνεται and Pind. *N.* 8.40–2 ἄσσει δ’ ἄρετὰ . . . ἐν σοφοῖς ἀνδρῶν ἀρθεῖσ’ ἐν δικαίοις τε πρὸς ὕγρον αἰθέρα ‘excellence grows like a tree that springs up to fresh dew, when lifted among wise and just men to liquid heaven.’ These are variations of the motive, well attested in Pindar, of the ‘matching praise’, which is often linked to the condition ‘if someone is fair-minded’, cf. Pind. *I.* 1.41–5 and the discussion of the variations of this motive by Bundy, *Studia*

Pindarica 53–61. While Pindar often speaks of ‘envy’ (φθόνος) and ‘blame’ (μῶμος), B. appears confident that great achievements will meet with due recognition; cf. 5.187–9n. and 190n.

εὐρήσει: cf. Pind. *O.* 13.112–13 πᾶσαν κάτα | ‘Ελλάδ’ εὐρήσεις ἐρευνῶν μάσσον’ ἢ ὥς ἰδέμεν ‘one may scour the whole of Greece and find more cities than the eye can encompass’ . . . ‘a speedy and graceful exit’ (Bundy, *Studia Pindarica* 72).

126 μυρίας ἀλκὰς Ἀχαιῶν ‘countless deeds of valour of Achaiaans’; for this meaning of ἀλκά cf. Pind. *N.* 7.12. The ‘Achaiaans’ are, of course, the Homeric heroes of the Trojan War, whose heroic exploits B. claims for the Peloponnesian Achaiaans who founded Metapontion. On Metapontion itself, or on Alexidamos’ family, B. seems to have found nothing particularly praiseworthy to say, so he was probably grateful for the opportunity to link her founders to the Homeric Achaiaans. This equation produced the legend, originally confined, it seems, to the area of Metapontion and Sybaris, that the town had been founded by Nestor’s Pyliaans on their way home from the Trojan War, as Strabo says (see above, p. 133). Unless it was his own invention, B. may have known, perhaps through Alexidamos’ family, a local legend about the foundation of Metapontion by Pyliaans returning from Troy, which he then told so as to link the present to the heroic past. This is why the last two lines are so general: σὺν ᾗπαντι χρόνῳ means both the present and the mythical and historical past, and ἀλκὰς Ἀχαιῶν includes Alexidamos’ Pythian victory as well as the exploits on the battlefield at Troy. The victory which B. celebrates in this ode is thus presented as proof that the Metapontians, protected and favoured by Artemis, are the legitimate descendants of Homer’s Achaiaans.

DITHYRAMBS

ODE 15 = DITHYRAMB 1

1. *Performance*

The first ode in the book of Dithyrambs had a double title which is partly preserved in the top margin of pap. **A**, above the first line: [Αν]τηνοριδοι [η Ελενη]ς απαιτησις, ‘Antenor’s Sons, or the demanding of Helen’. This title was also written on a *sillybos*, a parchment tag attached to pap. **O**, but then washed out and replaced by Βακχυλιδου Διθυραμβοι, which confirms that this ode was, in fact, the first in Bacchylides’ book of Dithyrambs. The sons of Antenor and Theano must have had a role to play in the part which is now lost. There seem to have been fifty of them: Schol.T on *Iliad* 24.496 says that whereas Hekabe’s nineteen sons are credible, the fifty sons attributed to Theano by B. are not. This suggests that the fifty singers who formed the chorus that performed this dithyramb somehow represented the fifty ‘Sons of Antenor’; dithyrambic choirs consisted of fifty singers, see Pickard-Cambridge, *Dramatic festivals* 75 n.4; *Dithyramb* 32.

Athens seems the most likely performance context in view of Menelaos’ speech which clearly and repeatedly echoes Solon and ends with a warning against *Hybris* that destroyed the Giants (59–63). Ever since the reorganization of the Panathenaic festival in 566/5 BCE, the battle between the Olympian gods and the Giants had been the dominant theme of this festival. It could be seen in the west pediment of the Peisistratids’ temple of Athena on the Acropolis and later on the metopes on the east side of the Parthenon, and on the inside of the shield of the Athena Parthenos. Most significantly, it was also the theme represented on the *peplos* that was carried in the Panathenaic procession and offered to the statue of Athena Polias; see Vian, *La guerre des géants* 251–3; *LIMC* IV 210.

If this dithyramb was indeed composed to be performed at the Panathenaia, the appearance of Theano, priestess of Athena, and her speech in the first triad may have evoked a poignant parallel to the Panathenaic procession and the *peplos*, for in *Iliad* 6.297–311 the same Theano leads the Trojan women up to the acropolis of Troy, puts the *peplos* on the knees of Athena’s statue in her temple and prays for the salvation of her city. In this way, both the beginning and the conclusion of this dithyramb seem

to be linked to the Panathenaia. One might speculate that the chorus, or the singer who recited Menelaos' speech (50–63), may even have pointed to the Gigantomachy embroidered on or woven into the *peplos* which was carried in the procession for all to see.

2. *The myth of Antenor and Theano*

According to Proklos' summary of the Trojan Cycle (*PEG* 42), the *Kypria* told how the Greeks landed and the fighting began; it then mentions an embassy that was sent to Troy to demand the return of Helen and the 'possessions' (τὰ κτήματα, obviously the treasure that was taken by Paris when he abducted Helen). Apollodoros' *Epitome* is slightly more explicit: the embassy was led by Odysseus and Menelaos, but when the Trojans called an assembly to discuss their proposals, they not only refused to give Helen back but even threatened to kill the Greek ambassadors; these were, however, saved by Antenor (Apollod. *Epit.* 3.28). In the *Iliad* (3.205–24), Antenor himself gives a (decorous) account of that assembly, describing Menelaos' and Odysseus' appearance and manner of speaking, though not the content of their speeches.

B.'s version seems to be based on this passage as well as on the account in the *Kypria*, which apparently also inspired a beautiful late Corinthian crater, now in the Vatican, datable to c.560 BCE (Appendix no. 7). Its significance was first recognized by Beazley 1957: 233–44 and plates 11–16; new photograph (after cleaning) in Davies 1977: 73–85 and pl.17; Amyx, *Corinthian vase-painting* I 264, II 576, III plates 116 & 117; Schefold, *Myth and legend* 86 pl.72. It shows first the herald, Talthybios, and behind him Odysseus and Menelaos sitting on the steps of an altar and being greeted by Theano who is followed by three women; behind them are fourteen warriors on horseback and two on foot. Six of the riders are identified by name, two of whom are attested as sons of Antenor (Glaukos and Eurymachos, see Paus. 10.27.3); it therefore seems likely that all of them are meant to be Antenor's sons.

Of the first column of this dithyramb only the ends of the first 14 lines survive in the papyrus. They do, nevertheless, provide some clues as to the probable content of the lost portion. Theano, Odysseus and Menelaos are introduced in the first stanza. Menelaos plays an active role in the last part, from line 47 onwards; Theano seems to have addressed the Greek ambassadors from line 10, and her speech may have ended at line 24. It

seems very likely that Odysseus, too, played an active part in this poem (cf. line 5), which corresponded to his presence on the Vatican crater and in the *Kypria* version of the story. The subject of ἄγον in 37 must be Antenor's sons, who escorted the ambassadors into the city and, presumably, to the temple, where they would be protected by Athena's priestess, Theano, and her husband, Antenor. πάντα . . . μῦθον Ἀχαιῶν (38–9) must refer to Antenor's role in explaining to Priam and his children 'the whole speech of the Achaians'. When the Trojans have been summoned to an assembly, Menelaos speaks in very general terms, and it seems to have been Odysseus' task to explain the embassy's proposal to the Trojans. His speech, which set out the terms under which the Greeks were prepared to end the fighting and sail home again, must have been placed somewhere in the lost portion between lines 25 and 36; the poem's alternative title, Ἑλένης ἀπαίτησις, may well reflect Odysseus' speech.

2 [κεδνὰ πα]ράκροιτις: cf. B.3.33 σὺ[ν ἀλόχῳ] τε κεδ[νῶ] and *Il.* 24.730 ἔχεσ δ' ἀλόχους κεδνός.

3 Παλλάδος ὀρσιμάχου 'battle-rousing Pallas'; the compound, like ἀερσιμάχ[ου] in B.13.100, ὀρσίαλος (Poseidon) 16.19, ὀρσιβάκχας, (Dionysos) 19.49, ὀρσίκτυπος (Zeus) in Pindar, *O.* 10.81, ὀρσινεφής (Zeus) *N.* 5.34, is found nowhere else; all of these seem to have been coined in choral lyric poetry. Of those compounds formed of verb + noun ('verbale Rektionskomposita', cf. Schwyzer 1 441–5) which are unique to B., the majority are of this type (like, e.g., δεξίστρατος 15.43, θελξιεπής 15.48, ἐρειπιτύλας 5.56 etc.), whereas tragic poets seem to have coined relatively more compounds made up of noun + verb; on these, see Williger, *Komposita*.

3–7 For a reconstruction of this passage, the following points are relevant: (a) as Theano appears in the nominative in 2 and 7, she is likely to be the subject of the whole sentence and possibly also of προσήνεπεν (9); (b) a finite verb that governs the datives in lines 5 and 6 must have stood at the beginning of one of lines 3–5; (c) [χ]ρυσέας (4), which must be acc. plur. rather than gen. sing. ('golden Athena' would hardly be credible), requires a suitable noun. Points (b) and (c) are offered by *Il.* 6.297–8 where Theano opens the temple doors to Hekabe and the Trojan women: αἶ δ' ὅτε νηὸν ἴκανον Ἀθήνης ἐν πόλει ἄκρι, | τῇσι θύρας ὦϊξε Θεανὼ καλλιπάρηιος, hence Crusius' proposal (3) [ὦϊξεν ἄγνόν] Παλλάδος ὀρσιμάχου (4) [ναὸν πύλας τε χ]ρυσέας (5) [ἄγγέλοις ἴκουσι]ν Ἀργείων (Crusius 1898: 163). [ἄγγέλοις . . .] Ἀργείων implies that Menelaos and Odysseus have come to

announce the Argives' peace terms, cf. *Il.* 11.138–41 (in the Trojans' assembly, Antimachos had suggested killing Μενέλαον . . . ἀγγελίην ἐλθόντα σὺν ἀντιθέωι Ὀδυσῆϊ, 139–40), also 3.206 (ἀγγελίης, see Kirk ad loc.).

9 [--- ---] ν προσήνεπεν: 'she addressed'; it is usually the host who addresses the stranger(s), not the other way round. The following passage was probably Theano's speech with which she welcomed the ambassadors (see below on 23–4).

10 [--- ---] ἔ] ὑκτιμέναν probably refers to Troy. Theano may have said something like 'Strangers, having come to well-built Troy' etc.

12 [--- ---] δ] ων (or] λων) τυχόντες: possibly a reference to the ambassadors' encounter with her fifty sons, e.g. [τῶν δὲ πεντήκοντ' ἐμῶν παί] δ] ων τυχόντες, since the statement in schol. T on *Il.* 24.496 Βακχυλίδης πεντήκοντα τῆς Θεανοῦς ὑπογράφει παῖδας must be based on a line in the early part of this ode.

13 [--- ---] . σὺν θεοῖς: the line should end in ---; to restore the metre, one might insert <δὲ>, <τε> or <γε> after σὺν, which would be possible only if the letter preceding could be read as] ε (e.g. ἔλθ[ετ]ε), which is, however, very uncertain.

23–4 --- οὐ γὰρ ὑπόκλοπον φορεῖ | βροτοῖσι φωνάεντα λόγον σοφία (= fr.26 Sn.): quoted by Clement, *Paedag.* 3.100.2, apparently from an anthology. There is no gap in any other of B.'s poems in dactyloepitrites that would accommodate this quotation, except the second strophe or antistrophe of this dithyramb (23–4 or as Blass suggested, 30–1). Who is likely to have made this statement? Jebb thought of Odysseus 'deprecating the suspicion that his plea for a peaceful settlement veiled some insidious design'. But then σοφία could hardly mean 'our reasonable proposal', and why should he have said 'to mortals' (βροτοῖς) if he meant 'to you, the Trojans'? The alternative would be to give these words to Theano, who may have concluded her speech by saying 'wisdom (= if you are wise) conveys your message clearly, for everyone to hear, without guile'. If this is correct, the quotation probably belongs in lines 23–4, giving Theano a speech of 15 lines and still leaving room for a speech of some ten lines by Odysseus. The point of ὑπόκλοπον would be to warn Odysseus that she is aware of his reputation for lies and deceit.

37 ἄγον: the subject of ἄγον must be the sons of Antenor and Theano who escorted the ambassadors to the assembly place while their father informed Priam. Antenor is called 'wise-counselling' (εὔβουλος) because

when the Trojans assembled after the duel between Hektor and Aias (*Il.* 7.345–54), he advised peace, urging them to give Helen back as well as the treasures taken by Paris. He may have acted likewise in the earlier assembly which the *Kypria* described (*PEG* p.42.55–6 διαπρεσβεύονται πρὸς τοὺς Τρῶας, τὴν Ἑλένην καὶ τὰ κτήματα ἀπαιτοῦντες) and which B. refers to in lines 40–3.

40–1 δι' εὐρείαν πόλιν: B. creates 'epic flavour' by adapting a common Homeric formula, cf. *Il.* 2.141 Τροίην . . . εὐρυάγνιαν.

43 δεξιστρατον: formed like ὀρσίμαχος (above, 3n.).

44 αὐδάεις λόγος: a 'clear message', not 'the loud rumour' (Jebb) or the herald's 'loud summons' (Campbell); λόγος is more than 'summons', and αὐδάεις, like φωνήεις (24), means 'voiced, articulate', as in *Il.* 19.407 where Hera makes Achilles' horse αὐδήεντα so that it can tell its master of his impending death; in the scholia the word is explained as 'using articulate speech' (schol. D: φωνῇ ἑνάρθρῳι χρώμενον). Here αὐδάεις λόγος seems to take up φωνάεντα λόγον, meaning 'a message that speaks clearly' while it passed by word of mouth through the city, the message (λόγος) being the terms of the embassy's peace proposals (μῦθον Ἀχαιῶν 39).

45–6 ἀνίσχοντες χέρας . . . παύσασθαι дуᾶν 'raising their hands to the immortal gods they prayed to be released from their sufferings'; cf. *Il.* 3.318 where Greeks and Trojans alike pray that war might be averted (λαοὶ δ' ἡρήσαντο, θεοῖσι δὲ χεῖρας ἀνέσχον). Similarly, in B. 11.69–72 the peoples of Proitos and Akrisios beseech their masters to avoid war. On Bacchylides' views on peace, see on his *Paean* for Asine (pp. 225–7).

47 Μοῦσα, τίς πρῶτος . . . : modelled on the poet's short invocations of the Muses in the *Iliad* (11.218–19, 14.508–9, 16.112–13) which all ask 'who was the first . . .' or 'how for the first time . . .' Here πρῶτος seems to imply that Menelaos' speech before the Trojan assembly was followed by others', perhaps by a lively debate, as suggested by the *Kypria* and Apollodoros' *Epit.* 3.28. Here, too, B. is creating 'epic flavour' by adapting a Homeric narrative device.

λόγων δικαίων: the Greeks' just demands.

48 Πλεισθενίδας: in line 6, in the same position in the strophe, Menelaos is called Ἀτρεΐδης. In Homer, Agamemnon and Menelaos are the sons of Atreus and grandsons of Pelops (*Il.* 2.104). Later genealogies make them sons of Pleisthenes and grandsons of Atreus (Hes. frs.104 and 105; Hellanikos *FGrHist* 4 F 157; Apollod.3.2.2), sometimes combining the Homeric and the 'Hesiodic' genealogies by making Atreus adopt his

grandsons after the early death of his son Pleisthenes (schol. AD on *Il.* 2.249 and schol. Eur. *Or.* 4). Although B. uses the Homeric patronymic in line 6, here he calls him ‘descendant of Pleisthenes’ in order to avoid any association or reminiscence of the horrendous crimes of Atreus, so that he can present him as the advocate of righteousness. Cf. Ibykos *SLG* 151.21–2 Πλεισθενίδας βασιλεὺς ἄγος ἀνδρῶν, Ἀτρεὺς ἐσ[θλός] πάϊς ἔκγ[ο]νος.

49 κοινώσας Χάρισσιν: sc. λόγον or γᾶρυν. The active forms of the verb mean ‘to impart information’ or ‘to share with’, see Pfeijffer, *Three Aeginetan odes of Pindar* 266–8 for a full discussion of this verb. Menelaos ‘makes <his speech> common to the Graces’, makes them share it, rather as Jason’s parents save their child νυκτὶ κοινώσαντες δόδον ‘letting the night share the road’, Pindar, *P.* 4.114–15. B.’s phrase implies that the Graces take a hand in making Menelaos’ speech ‘spell-binding’ (θελξιεπής). The function of the Graces (Χάριτες) is not to inspire the poet (this is the Muses’ prerogative), but to give ‘grace’ (χάρις) to a poem, to make it pleasing and elegant. The phrase σὺν Χάρισ(σ)ιν/Χαρίτεσσιν (B. 5.9; Pind. *I.* 5.21; *N.* 5.54; *N.* 9.54) indicates that they help the poet elaborate his poem, see 19.5–7n. The spelling Χάρισσιν is an artificial lengthening to suit the metre, on the analogy of Homeric ἔπεσσι, νέκυσσι, γένυσσι, πίτυσσι, cf. Chantraine, *GH* 1 222.

50 ὦ Τρῶες ἀρηϊφίλοι: in Homer, the Trojans are never called ‘war-loving’; nineteen of 26 occurrences in the *Iliad* and one in the *Odyssey* refer to Menelaos. In applying the epithet to the Trojans, Menelaos seems to address a warning to them.

52 οὐκ αἴτιος: an obvious reference to, almost a quotation of, the famous speech in the first assembly of the gods in *Od.* 1.32ff. where Zeus states that mortals should not blame the gods for their misfortunes but are themselves responsible, quoting Aigisthos as a warning example. Solon also refers to Zeus’s speech in 15.1–3 and in his *Eunomia* elegy (4.5–8), which Menelaos’ speech recalls. The function of intertextual references like these is probably to remind the audience that the idea in question has been voiced before by a poet whose prestige and authority will give it added weight.

53–4 ἐν [μέσ]ωι: in *Iliad* 18.507 it is a prize which ‘lies in the middle’ between the contestants, as in Demosthenes’ *First Philippic* (4.5) ἄθλα τοῦ πολέμου κείμενα ἐν μέσῳι, although in B. the emphasis is less on contest or competition.

κείται . . . πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις: Menelaos means that a just solution is available ‘to all men’, Trojans and Greeks. But in the trial scene on

the Shield of Achilles (*Iliad* 18.497–508), the δίκη which the judges are expected to find seems to be the appropriate amount of blood-money or compensation that would be acceptable to both sides, and this is what δίκη appears to mean generally in early poetry, e.g. in Hesiod, *Op.* 238 (‘atonement’, M. L. West), rather than ‘justice’. B., too, was thinking of the personified Δίκη along similar lines.

54–5 Δίκαν ἰθεῖαν . . . ἀκόλουθον ‘unswerving Justice, who follows . . .’ The implication is that ‘good government’ (Eunomia) is the prerequisite for ‘straight’ justice (the opposite of Hesiod’s δίκαι σκολιαί ‘crooked judgments’, *Op.* 219, 221, 250, 264). Dike is the ‘companion’ (ἀκόλουθος) of Eunomia and Themis, which means that in a city governed by good laws and fairness, appropriate settlement is warranted. This is in accordance with Hesiod’s genealogy which made Themis the mother of Eunomia, Dike, and Eirene; cf. Pindar, *O.* 13.6–8. Unlike Hesiod and Pindar, B. does not name Eirene here because in this situation ‘peace’, i.e. a peaceful end to the dispute, would appear as the next step, the result of Dike, the settlement on the terms proposed by the ambassadors.

56 ὀλβίων . . . σύνοικον ‘blessed are they whose sons choose her to share their home’ (also quoted in *BKT IX* 187). The sense is: where good laws and enlightened justice rule, a fair settlement can be achieved: those who opt for this will enjoy wealth. The *asyndeton* shows that this line caps the preceding statements. In epic and early lyric poetry, a climax to an argument, or a capping statement, is often added without a connecting particle (ἄσυνδέτως). On Pindar’s uses of *asyndeton*, see Race, *Style and rhetoric* 41–57 and Maehler, *Asyndeton*.

57–9 ἄδ’ . . . ὕβρις: the opposite of Dike, as in Hesiod, *Op.* 213ff. and throughout Solon’s *Eunomia* elegy (4 W.); cf. also Archil. fr.177 W.; Xenophanes 1.15–17; Theognis 291–2 and 378–9. Hybris ‘blossoms’ (θάλλουσα) in slippery profiteering (αἰόλοις κέρδεσσι, a reference to Paris’ deceit and greed in taking Menelaos’ treasures) and outrageous follies (his abduction of Helen). Hesiod, too, and in particular Solon had emphasized the link between greed or profiteering (κέρδος) and transgression (ὕβρις), cf. Solon 4.5ff., 6.3–4, Theognis 39–52; 833–6.

ἐξαισίσις ‘beyond fate’, i.e. ὑπὲρ αἴσαν, cf. *Iliad* 15.598 ἐξαισίσιον ἄρην, where Thetis’ prayer/request to Zeus is called ‘outrageous’, for the first and only time in the *Iliad*, at the very moment when its consequences are reaching their climax, see Janko ad loc.

59–61 ἄ . . . φθόρον: ‘(But she who blossoms in shift tricks and outrageous follies, Insolence,) she swiftly gives <a man> another’s wealth and

power, but again throws <him> into deep ruin.’ Kenyon and Jurenka took this $\acute{\alpha}$ as a demonstrative pronoun which picks up the first $\acute{\alpha}$ (57), whereas Jebb wanted the second $\acute{\alpha}$ to be a relative pronoun. In favour of Kenyon’s reading is the punctuation in the papyrus after $\phi\theta\acute{o}\rho\omicron\nu$ and the fact that $\alpha\tilde{\upsilon}\tau\iota\varsigma\ \delta(\epsilon)$ marks a strong contrast ($\pi\lambda\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu/\ \delta\acute{\upsilon}\nu\alpha\mu\iota\nu - \phi\theta\acute{o}\rho\omicron\nu$): the last two lines then come as an *asyndeton*, a capping statement, which corresponds as a warning (negative) to the *asyndeton* encouragement in 56 (positive); cf. 56n. above. The two halves of Menelaos’ speech are closely parallel, and the warning reference to the Gigantomachy thus becomes the climax of the whole ode.

60 ἀλλότριον: ‘what belongs to someone else’; although this clearly refers to Helen, Menelaos speaks in general terms. This gives his speech greater authority than if he had said ‘Hybris gave Paris *my* wealth and *my* power’ (sc. over my wife). Paris, who should be the indirect object of $\omega\pi\alpha\sigma\epsilon\nu$ and the direct object of $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\mu\pi\epsilon\iota$, is not named: his fate, however, will be similar to that of the Giants.

63 Γᾶς] παῖδας: Kenyon’s supplement is certain, cf. Hesiod, *Th.* 183ff. and 954–5. According to Apollod. 1.6.1–2, the Giants hurled rocks and burning oak trees against the sky. In art, the Gigantomachy becomes extremely popular from the middle of the sixth century; see Vian, *Répertoire des Gigantomachies*, and *LMC* IV 191–270.

ODE 16 = DITHYRAMB 2

1. Performance

Despite the address to Pythian Apollo and the reference to paeans and choirs of Delphians, this ode is certainly not a paean since its main part (13–35) has nothing to do with Apollo. The only hint that it may have been composed to be performed at Delphi is the statement in 11–12 that ‘so much’ ($\tau\acute{o}\sigma\alpha$) was sung ‘by your much-praised temple’; but this $\tau\acute{o}\sigma\alpha$ refers to songs performed during Apollo’s absence from Delphi during the winter months which the god spends with the Hyperboreans. These songs seem to have been ‘cletic’ hymns recalling the god to Delphi; one such hymn had been composed by Alkaios, of which some details survive in the paraphrase by the rhetorician Himerios (fourth century CE; Alkaios fr.307 = Himerios, *Or.* 48.11 Colonna), see below. The first stanza of this ode may

have been modelled on this hymn, which may be echoed also in Euripides' *Ion* 82–183.

The main narrative section which fills the antistrophe and epode is introduced by 'until then' (πρίν γε, i.e. before Apollo returns), 'we sing' (κλέομεν 13). According to Plutarch (*Mor.* 389c), the Delphians performed paeans with their sacrifices during most of the year, but from the beginning of winter they replaced the paean by the dithyramb for three months, calling on Dionysos instead of Apollo. If, as seems likely, this statement reflects fifth-century practice, B.'s ode could well be such a dithyramb, performed at Delphi during the winter months before Apollo's return. But it seems equally possible that it was performed at Athens (Kamerbeek, *Plays* II 6). See also on line 18 below.

2. *The myths*

(a) *Apollo and the Hyperboreans* The story was told in Alkaios' hymn to Apollo, which began ὦναξ Ἀπολλων παῖ μεγάλω Διός. Himerios' paraphrase gives a general idea of its content: 'Zeus gave the new-born Apollo a golden *mitra* and lyre, and a chariot harnessed to swans. He sent him to Delphi and the streams of Castalia, to speak as a prophet of justice and right to Hellas. Apollo mounted the chariot, and set its course not for Delphi but for the land of the Hyperboreans. When the Delphians heard of this, they composed a paian and song, and founded dances of youths around the Tripod, summoning the god to return. He remained among the Hyperboreans a whole year, delivering the law; and when he thought it high time for the Delphic tripods to make music in their turn, he ordered his swans to fly back from the Hyperboreans. Now it was summer, and . . . because summer was aglow, and Apollo was in the land, the lyre puts on a sort of summer dress in honour of the god: the nightingales sing him the kind of song that you expect of birds in Alcaeus; swallows and cicadas forget the tale of their own sufferings, and devote their songs wholly to Apollo, Castalia flows with streams of silver, Cephissus heaves like Homer's Enipeus – even the waters are aware that a divinity is in the land' (Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus* 244–5).

In B., too, the god is presented as absent, in the north: 'by flowering Hebrus he takes pleasure (from dance?) or the long-necked swan, gladdening his heart (by its honey-)sweet voice' (see on 7). He seems, however, to be

expected back soon (see on 8). Although there is no chariot here and only one swan, the situation appears to be very similar.

(b) *Herakles, Deianeira, and Nessos* In B., the events leading to Herakles' death are presented in reverse order, in three stages: (1) Having destroyed Oichalia, Herakles is about to sacrifice to Zeus on the Kenaion promontory (13–22); (2) Fate inspired Deianeira's plan when she learned that he was about to send Iole into her house as his 'wife' (ἄλοχον) (23–9); (3) it was on the bank of the river Lykormas where she received the fateful gift from Nessos.

Sophokles presents essentially the same version in his *Women of Trachis*. Although the poisoned robe that killed Herakles is mentioned in [Hes.] fr. 25.20–5, there is no evidence in either poetry or art before Sophokles and B. to suggest that the poison was a deceptive gift from the dying centaur, Nessos, who offered the blood from his wound to Deianeira to use as a lovecharm. As very little survives of the epic versions, such as the Οἰχαλίας ἄλωσις by Kreophylos, the Ἡράκλεια of Peisandros of Rhodes or the Ἡρακλείδης in 14 books by Panyassis of Halikarnassos (*PEG* 157–87), our chief evidence is Attic vases, listed in Brommer, *Vasenlisten* 153–8.

While the earlier versions of the Nessos-Deianeira story have Herakles threaten Nessos with his club and/or sword, occasionally with bow and club, only two show the centaur actually wounded or attacked with an arrow: (1) On a fragment of an early Attic dinos of the seventh century (Appendix no. 8), a centaur with an arrow stuck in his side turns round towards his attacker who threatens him with his sword; in this situation, he would obviously have no chance at all to collect his poisoned blood and hand it to Deianeira; (2) a Caeretan hydria (Appendix no. 9) places the scene on either side of a palmette below the handle: on the right, the centaur and the woman moving away from him, and on the left, Herakles threatening him with an arrow. The same painter has, however, painted the same scene on two other hydrias where the figures are not divided by the handle (Appendix nos. 10 and 11); here Herakles attacks with bow and club, while Deianeira comes running from the right and has almost reached him. All three vases obviously show essentially the same scene; on all three, Deianeira is running away from Nessos towards Herakles before the arrow is actually shot off, so that 'there can have been no thought in the artist's mind of Nessos offering Deianeira a lovecharm' (March 54).

The argument in favour of the lovecharm being an innovation by a fifth-century poet rests not only on a negative consideration (the lack of evidence before Sophokles and B.), but also on a positive one. The arrow is crucial to the lovecharm version because it links Nessos' death with Herakles' own death through the poisoned blood, and it is this link which gives this version its tragic character, in that (a) Herakles' victory over Nessos carries the seed of his own doom, his own deed will in the end destroy him, and (b) Deianeira becomes the innocent/guilty victim of a cruel deception. In order to turn the old story into a tragic plot, the innovator had to introduce some odd elements which must have stretched the audience's credulity to the limit: how would the mortally wounded centaur have been able, in the middle of the river, to collect his blood? With his hands? Or in a vessel? Where could that have come from? Whoever invented the 'lovecharm' version must have expected the audience to accept it without asking how it could have happened.

It cannot be ruled out that there may have been an earlier source for the 'lovecharm' version, such as Panyassis' *Herakleia* (PEG 174–84) or some early tragedy. There is, however, no evidence that any poet before Sophokles and B. connected Herakles' death with Nessos' poisoned blood; it therefore seems very unlikely that there was an earlier source that could have inspired them both. The implication must be that one depends on the other – but which way round? Kenyon was convinced that Sophokles 'had Bacchylides in his mind' (Kenyon p. 148) but, as most scholars now agree, B.'s version would simply not have been intelligible to an audience who were unfamiliar with the version which connected the death of Nessos by Herakles' arrow with Herakles' own death by the poisoned robe: how could they have guessed what 'plan' (μῆτις) it was, which Deianeira wove (ῥάψε, 24–5), or Nessos' δαιμόνιον τέρας (35)? It therefore seems likely that the version which B.'s 'allusive manner in 16, which presupposes familiarity with the story of the robe' (Easterling, *Soph. Trach.* 22), takes for granted, was indeed Sophokles' *Trachiniai*. Chronologically there would be no problem since *Trachiniai* is an early play, as most scholars believe; if so, the two poets' poetic activity overlapped for many years (see Schwinge, *Trachinierinnen* 130–2; Hoey 1979: 210–32 with bibliography; March, *Creative poet* 62–3).

ἰ . . .]ἰου . ἰφ . . . ἐπεί: no plausible reading of the traces has yet been proposed. Before ἐπεί, some form of exhortation seems likely, i.e. an

imperative or optative, addressed perhaps to Delphi, or to the audience, possibly an invitation to pay attention to the ode which is about to be performed.

2 ὀλκ᾿ ἄδ(α): a ὀλκᾶς was a heavy freight vessel, so the metaphor implies that the Muse has sent a heavy load of song to the Delphians' choir (ἐμοί). Pindar wants his victory ode to sail from Aigina 'on every freight-ship and boat' (ἐπὶ πάσας ὀλκᾶδος ἔν τ' ἀκάτωι, *N.* 5.2): but his are real ships, not metaphors as in Simonides (*PMG* 535) and perhaps Alkman (*PMG* 142 = 199 Calame).

5 – ~ ~]υ (or α), then εἰτις would fit the traces; however, if one supplies ἐς θεῶ]ν (Jebb) or ἧ καλῶ]ν (Handley), τις would have to refer to Apollo, which would be odd: why would the god not be named?

6 ἄ]γάλλεται 'he takes pleasure', see above, p. 165; a dative seems likely in the gap, perhaps (if six letters can be fitted in the gap) μούσαι or μολπᾶι.

7]δεῖᾱι: the last letter had apparently been changed to N but then crossed out and replaced by a small superscript *iota*. As diaeresis in this papyrus is fairly frequent over initial ι and υ, the letter ι may well be the initial letter of a word: ἰῶι ('voice', long ago suggested by Kuiper), preceded perhaps by μελιᾱ]δε<ῖ>, 'honey-sweet'. The idea that swans sing sweetly, however unrealistic it may seem, was widespread, cf. Eur. *Phaethon* fr. 773.34 μελιβόας κύκνος, *IT* 1104 κύκνος μελωιδὸς Μούσας θεραπεύει, etc. Plutarch says of Pythian Apollo that he μουσικῇ ἤδεται καὶ κύκνων φωναῖς καὶ κιθάρης ψόφοις (*Mor.* 387c). Kallimachos calls the swans 'birds of the Muses, most tuneful of winged creatures' (Μουσᾶων ὄρνιας, ἀοιδότατοι πετεηνῶν) and makes them circle Delos during Leto's labour, *h.* 4.249–54.

8 (.)]δ' ἴκηι: this verse should respond with 20, which would mean accommodating five syllables (ζ ~ – ~ ~) into the space of six or, at most, seven letters. This seems impossible: either this line, or 20, appears to be corrupt. If, as Paul Maas suspected (*Resp.* II 23 n.2), the problem is in line 20, the gap in line 8 would require only two syllables (– ~); ἴκηι must, in any case, be a 2nd person sing. of the aorist subjunctive (= Homeric ἴκηαι), which might suggest something like πρὶν τό]δ' ἴκηι 'until you come here': examples of πρὶν + subjunctive (without ἄν) in the sense of 'until, before' in situations either repeated or expected to happen, can be found in K-G II 454–6 and in Schwyzler II 313.

9 πεδοιχνεῖν: = μετοίχεσθαι, or μετέρχεσθαι 'to go after', the flowers of paeans; the flower metaphor for song is very common in choral lyric poetry, see on fr. 4.63.

11–12 τόσα χοροὶ Δελφῶν . . . κελάδησαν: τόσα could be a relative or a demonstrative pronoun. While relative τόσος tends to correlate to a demonstrative τόσος (as in Pindar, *N.* 4.4–5, or Kall., *Ap.* 94), demonstrative τόσον or τόσα (‘so much’, or ‘these things/words’) often follow brief direct speeches, as in *h.Merc.* 90–4; Pindar, *O.* 13.67–72; see the examples collected by Führer, *Reden* 40. This strongly suggests taking τόσα as a demonstrative pronoun, ‘these things’ (or ‘this much’) the Delphian choirs sang . . . , which would make the preceding lines a quotation, or direct speech. The whole passage, lines 1–10, may be a cletic hymn sung by the Delphians to recall Dionysos from the Hyperboreans, rather similar to Alkaios’ hymn (see above, p. 165).

13 πρίν γε κλέομεν ‘beforehand, we tell’. It is best to take κλέομεν as a genuine present (with strong punctuation after νῶν 12), to make clear what the chorus are doing *now*, in which case πρίν will have to be an adverb: ‘before/until (the Delphians sing,) we tell . . .’. The alternative, taking πρίν as a conjunction = ‘(the Delphians sang) before we tell/told . . .’ (γ’ἐκλέομεν Maas, *Resp.* II 23 n.2) would not make sense in the context, because it would leave unclear what the chorus are singing *now*.

13–15 λιπείν . . . Ἀμφιπρυονιάδαν: acc. + inf., governed by κλέομεν.

Οἰχάλιαν: a mythical town in central Euboea, home of Eurytos and his daughter Iole, cf. Soph. *Trach.* 74–5 and 750; Kreophylos fr.2 (*PEG* p.162); Hekataios in Pausanias 4.2.3 (*FGH Hist* I F 28). It was supposed to have been at or near Eretria.

πυρὶ δαπτομέναν: ‘devoured by fire’; the verb may have been chosen to signal Herakles’ own death which was to follow his destruction of Oichalia, as Simonini suggested (1977: 490). Cf. *Iliad* 23.182–3 where Achilles promises Ἐκτορα δ’ οὐ τι | δώσω Πριαμίδην πυρὶ δαπτέμεν, ἀλλὰ κύνεσσιν.

16 ἀμφικύμον’ ἄκταν: the cape (now Cape Λιχάδα) is ‘washed by waves on either side’; it is the promontory at the north-western end of Euboea. Cf. Soph. *Trach.* 752–3 ἄκτῃ τις ἀμφίκλυστος Εὐβοίας ἄκρον | Κήναιόν ἐστι. Similar epithets are given to islands: Ithaka is ἀμφιάλος (*Od.* 1.386 and 395), Rhodes is ἀμφιθαλάσσιος (Pindar, *O.* 7.33), Salamis is περικύμων (*Eur. Troad.* 800).

18 θύεν: Doric infinitive, like ἐρύκεν (17.41), ἴσχευ (17.88), φυλάσσειν (19.25). The last three cases, unlike 16.18, are guaranteed by the metre.

ἐννέα ταύρους: in Soph. *Trach.* 760–1, Herakles sacrifices twelve bulls to Zeus; why B. makes him split the same number of victims between three gods (nine for Zeus, two for Poseidon, and one heifer for Athena) is not

evident. The suggestion (March, *Creative poet* 63 n.65) that the inclusion of Athena and Poseidon, ‘divinities particularly important to Athens’, may reflect an Athenian setting for this dithyramb, is attractive.

20–1 Line 20 presents three problems: (a) It must respond with line 8 which is obviously much shorter; (b) the apparent ‘correction’ (shortening of the final diphthong by the next syllable beginning with vowel) in ὀβριμοδερκεῖ ἄζυγα is awkward, the more so as it would respond to an ‘internal correction’ in 8 (παῖθόνων) which is rare (though not unparalleled, see on 17.92); (c) παρθένωι seems strangely redundant as an apposition to κόραι. All three difficulties disappear if one deletes κόραι τ’ (as an intrusive gloss) and inserts <δ’> after ὀβριμοδερκεῖ, as suggested by Maas, *Resp.* II 23 n.2.

23 τότ’ ἀμαχος δαίμων: ‘irresistible Destiny’ (Jebb); only here does the noun have this meaning which is common in tragedy, while in all other instances in B. (3.37; 5.113 and 135; 9.26; 14.1; 17.46; fr.13; fr.25.1) it means ‘god’, or ‘a god’, as it does in Homer. Of course, δαίμων is still personified here to the extent of ‘weaving’ a plan.

24–5 Δαΐανείρᾱι: like Nessos in 35, she does not get an epithet, while Iole, her rival, is ‘white-armed’ (27); as Charles Segal observed, ‘her fame by itself, breaking into a stretch of highly ornate noun-epithet combinations, conveys an effect of lonely pathos which is exactly appropriate for her situation’ (1976: 104).

πολύδακρυν . . . μῆτιν: a ‘plan’ that was to cause her many tears; on the ‘proleptic’ use of epithets, see below on 26 ταλαπενθέα.

ἐπίφρον(α): in Sophokles, the chorus, ignorant of the consequences, can say to her δοκεῖς παρ’ ἡμῖν οὐ βεβουλεῦσθαι κακῶς, *Trach.* 589. By contrast, B., and his audience, knew the terrible outcome of Deianeira’s ‘plan’ which πολύδακρυν anticipates; to call it ἐπίφρονα sounds sarcastic: it may have seemed ‘shrewd’ to her because she could not foresee the result. The discrepancy between the audience’s superior knowledge and Deianeira’s ill-fated ‘plan’ heightens the tragic *pathos* of her situation.

26 ἀγγελίαν ταλαπενθέα ‘a message that was to cause suffering’; cf. ὑσμίνας ταλαπενθέας in Panyassis’ fr.16.5 (*PEG* p.180), δυσπενθής in Pindar, *P.* 11.18 and 12.10, μόρον . . . πολυπενθῇ in Aesch. *Pers.* 547. Other examples of ‘proleptic’ use of epithets in B. are ταῦσιον 5.81, ἀπορρήτων ἄγυιᾶν 9.52, ἐ[ὕναϊς] . . . ἀριγνώτοις 9.64, βωμόν . . . πολύλλ[ι]στον 11.41, καλυκοστέφανους κούρας 11.108, πολύστονον 17.40; other examples from epic and tragedy can be found in K-G I 276 and Schwyzler II 181e.

27–8 λευκώλενον . . . ἀταρβομάχας: the irony implied in the contrast between the two epithets is also present in Soph. *Trach.* 354–5 Ἐρως δέ νιν | μόνος θεῶν θέλξειεν αἰχμάσσαι τάδε, the ‘fearless fighter’ is defeated by Iole’s tender beauty.

29 ἄλοχον: the crucial noun is placed in the middle of the ὅτι–clause, without an epithet: Herakles is sending the captured Iole ‘as his bedfellow’ into her ‘rich’ (λιπαρόν) house, which she will soon have to share with her rival. ἄλοχος < ἄ *copulativum* (ἀθροιστικόν) + λέχος, cf. ἄκοιτις, ἀδελφός etc., see Chantraine, *Dict.* II 634; more examples in Schwyzler I 433.

30 ὦ δύσμορος, ὦ τάλαινα(α): this double apostrophe seems to reflect Deianeira’s reaction to the messenger’s revelation in Soph. *Trach.* 375–7 οἶμοι τάλαινα . . . τίν’ εἰσδέδεγμαι πημονήν | ὑπόστεγον λαθραῖον ὦ δύστηνος. While ὦ + vocative of a proper name or adjective is fairly common in B., ὦ is found only here and at 3.10, where it expresses admiration (ὦ τρισευδαίμων ἀνὴρ, cf. Thgn. 1013 ὦ μάκαρ). It often expresses compassion or pity, as here; cf. Sem. 7.76 ὦ τάλας ἀνὴρ. Not surprisingly, the interjection ὦ is particularly common in tragedy; B. may have chosen it to give the passage a ‘tragic’ flavour.

οἷον ἐμήσατ[ο]: her ‘plan’ (μῆτις) was Deianeira’s only active involvement; in reality, however, this had also been ‘woven’ for her by Destiny (δαίμων . . . ὕφα[νε, 23–4]), and the other two finite verbs referring to her show her in a passive role, reacting rather than acting (πύθετο 26, δέξατο 35); in this respect, too, she resembles Sophocles’ Deianeira.

31 φθόνος εὐρυβίης νιν ἀπώλεσεν: ‘it was jealousy . . .’; φθόνος is not an aspect of Destiny, or the gods, or any superhuman power, but rather a power within Deianeira herself, on the same level as her ignorance of the consequences, or lack of forethought. The superior power is δαίμων, ‘Fate’, which uses her jealousy and ignorance to destroy her as well as Herakles. For φθονεῖν with an erotic connotation, ‘to be jealous’, cf. Eur. *HF* 1309–10 (Hera) ἡ γυναικὸς οὐνεκα | λεκτρῶν φθονοῦσα Ζηνὶ κτλ.

34 ἐπὶ {ποταμῶ[ι]}: an interlinear gloss which has crept into the text. This happens not infrequently in texts of poetry; examples in Pindar and Aeschylus include Pind. fr. 70.2 Μέλ[α]ν[ό]ς τε {ποταμοῦ} ῥοαί (where the gloss is betrayed by the metre), fr. 75.12 {Σεμέλην}, fr. 107a.7 {ἕτερον}, O. 7.49 {Ζεύς}, P. 1.92 (πετάσας gloss on ἐξίει), P. 6.46 {ἔδειξεν}, I. 3.76 {Διί}, Aesch. *Pers.* 6 Δαρείογενῆς {Δαρείου υἱός} codd. MΦ, Aesch. *Supp.* 634 {πόλιν}.

ρόδόντι: on flowers, and in particular roses, in erotic situations see on 19.39–40.

Λυκὸρμαῖ: the river – later called Euenos (cf. on ode 20) – flows through Aetolia into the gulf of Patra.

35 δαιμόνιον τέρ[ας]: ‘a portent sent by gods’ (Jebb), or by fate. To Deianeira, the dying centaur’s gift may have seemed a ‘godsend’, from which she expected a miracle. At the same time, δαιμόνιον suggests that ultimately it was the ἄμαχος δαίμων, or Fate, which handed it to her. What this τέρας was, the poet does not say, and there is no way the audience could have guessed – unless they knew the new version which Sophokles had presented in his *Trachiniai*, perhaps a short while earlier, as Schwinge, *Trachinierinnen* 131, March, *Creative poet* 63 and others have argued; see above, pp. 166–7.

ODE 17 = DITHYRAMB 3

1. *Performance and date.*

The last three lines of this ode show that it was addressed to Delian Apollo and performed by a chorus from Keos. One might wonder, therefore, whether this ode was not, in fact, a paean rather than a dithyramb, even though dithyrambs seem to have been performed at the great Delian festival which the locals called τὰ Ἀπολλώνια, while to the other Greeks it was known as τὰ Δήλια or Δηλιακά. The Homeric hymn to Apollo describes it as an Ionian family festival, ‘where the long-robed Ionians gather with their children and respected wives’ and hold competitions ‘in boxing, dance, and song’ (*h.Ap.* 147–50). The most memorable part of it (μέγα θαῦμα, 156) is the chorus of Delian maidens who praise Apollo, Leto, and Artemis:

μνησάμεναι ἀνδρῶν τε παλαιῶν ἡδὲ γυναικῶν
 ὕμνον αἰείδουσιν, θέλγουσι δὲ φύλ’ ἀνθρώπων.
 πάντων δ’ ἀνθρώπων φωνὰς καὶ βαμβαλιαστὺν
 μιμῆσθ’ ἴσασιν· φαίη δὲ κεν αὐτὸς ἕκαστος
 φθέγγεσθ’ οὔτω σφιν καλὴ συνάρηρεν ᾠοδὴ (160–4),

‘commemorating men and women of old, they sing a hymn, spell-binding the tribes of humans. They know how to represent the voices of all men and the sound of castanets; each one might think it’s his own voice: in such a

way were they gifted with beautiful song.' In other words, it was a mimetic performance of a story from mythology.

This is, of course, also true of Bacchylides' ode. Though included in the book of dithyrambs, it seems to have been a paean, not only because it is addressed to Apollo at the end but also in view of the preceding lines (124–9); they describe how the Athenian boys and girls greet Theseus when he re-emerges from the depth of the sea: the girls with shrieks (ὄλολυγή), the boys with a *paian*, i.e. with the female and male versions of ritualized cries of joy (on the close link between *ololygē* and *paian* see Calame, *Les chœurs de jeunes filles* 1 149–52). This is *mimesis*: Bacchylides' chorus recreates that scene; at the end of their performance, they almost take on the *persona* of the young Athenians.

If the ode was, in fact, a paean (cf. Jebb p. 223), why was it classified as a dithyramb and included in this book? A fragment of an ancient commentary, or *hypomnema*, on another ode of Bacchylides (ode 23) tells us that Kallimachos defined it as a paean, whereas Aristarchos regarded it as a dithyramb 'because it contained the story of *Kassandra*' (διὰ τὸ παρειλῆ[φθαι ἐν αἰὺτῇ τὰ περὶ Κασ[σάνδρας]), 'and so he gave it the title *Kassandra*' (ἐπιγράφει δ' αὐτὴν [καὶ Κασσ[άνδραν] (*POxy.* 2368 col.i 9–13). The author (Didymos ?) seems to agree with Aristarchos and his classification criterion; he criticizes Kallimachos for failing to understand that the characteristic feature of the dithyramb (κοινόν, what dithyrambs have 'in common') was mythological narrative (οὐ συνέντα ὅτι [μύθου σύς] τημα κοινόν ἐστὶ τοῦ δ' ἰθυράμβου, lines 17–19). The disagreement implies that paeans and dithyrambs (those of Bacchylides, at any rate) were so similar in character that doubts could arise over their classification. Since ode 17, apart from its last three lines, consists exclusively of mythical narrative, Kallimachos (or whoever classified this ode), in accordance with this criterion, placed it with the *Dithyrambs*.

The date of this ode can be established with some degree of confidence. It tells of the confrontation between the young prince Theseus who accompanies the seven boys and seven girls, the Athenians' tribute to Crete, and King Minos who had come to collect them in his own ship. The confrontation culminates in Theseus' leap into the sea, his descent to the palace of Amphitrite, and his unexpected re-emergence, adorned with the goddess's gifts. The voyage to Crete, Theseus' encounter with Ariadne, his fight with the Minotaur and the rescue of the fourteen young Athenians was known to poetry and art from Homer's time onwards (*Od.* 11.321–5; in art, the

earliest representation is a large relief pithos in Basel, dated 670–660 BCE; Appendix no. 12). It is most splendidly shown in the top register of the François vase in Florence (Appendix no. 4) which shows Theseus leading the fourteen young Athenians towards Ariadne. She greets him holding up a black ball – the roll of thread which will be vital in leading him out of the Labyrinth when he has killed the Minotaur. Ariadne's gesture thus anticipates the outcome of the adventure. The nurse, the traditional match-maker who stands between her and Theseus, also points to events that are still to come. On the other hand, the ship, with its bow turned to the left, i.e. to the open sea, and the man who is swimming towards the shore, both indicate what happened immediately *before* their landing on Crete: here it is an Athenian ship which did not pull ashore (perhaps because Crete was then hostile territory?), so that Theseus and the fourteen boys and girls had to swim ashore; in case they survive, the ship stays near the coast, ready to sail away with them. This is the vase-painter's way of incorporating, or at least of hinting at, events that are chronologically outside the scene he is painting – a beautiful illustration of what A. M. Snodgrass has called the vase-painters' 'synoptic method' which allows them to include elements of the story that either precede or follow the main episode shown (see Snodgrass, *Narration*). The top register of the François vase seems to reflect a crucial episode in the story as it was known in the sixth century BCE.

Of the episode narrated in ode 17, however, no trace is found in either art or poetry before the fifth century. It therefore seems very likely that it is Bacchylides' own invention. The earliest, and most impressive, representation in art is a large cup in the Louvre by the potter Euphronios, painted (according to Beazley, *ARI*² 318.1) by Onesimos, dated to between 500 and 490 BCE (Louvre G 104; Appendix no. 13). On the outside it shows four of Theseus' opponents in his early exploits: Skiron, Prokroustes, Kerkyon, the Bull; the inside shows a very young Theseus, supported on a Triton's hands, being greeted by Amphitrite; seated on a richly decorated throne, she is holding a large wreath of white (now faded) and red blobs in her left hand. Between them stands a tall Athena, apparently in the background and invisible since none of the other figures look at her; she holds her spear in her left hand while her right hand supports a small owl, the symbol of the city she protects, aptly interpreted by Dugas and Flacelière, *Thésée* 63 as representing, invisible and yet dominating events, the spirit of Athens, which is a combination of her courage (indicated by the spear) and her wisdom (see the owl) which will help Theseus overcome all the

difficulties. The vase-painter's ingenious addition of the tall figure of Athena indicates her continued protection of the young hero, just as Amphitrite's wreath (her wedding gift) anticipates his encounter with Ariadne: a highly sophisticated development of the early vase-painters' 'synoptic method' (see above on the François vase, p. 174). All the figures are identified by inscriptions.

This picture encapsulates the essential elements of Bacchylides' episode, beginning with Athena who speeds the ship on her voyage by sending the north wind (lines 5–8), to the wreath which Amphitrite hands to Theseus: it is 'dark with roses' (ρόδοις ἐρεμνόν, 116), hence the red blobs on the cup; the Triton's gesture means that Theseus is under the protection of the marine gods. It is impossible not to 'read' it as an illustration of Ode 17, bearing in mind that the vase-painters do not, as a rule, themselves create new versions of myths but respond to customer demand created, in the sixth and fifth centuries, by public performances of poetry. The Louvre cup thus gives us a precious *terminus ante quem*, making this ode one of the earliest extant poems of Bacchylides, together with fr. 20B, the drinking song for the young Macedonian prince Alexander which can also be dated to the early 490s (see below, pp. 244–5). There is no reason to link Ode 17 to the foundation of the Delian League in 478/7, as Severyns suggested. Theseus becomes very prominent, rather suddenly, in Attic art in the last quarter of the sixth century, see Brommer, *Theseus* 75; Neils, *Theseus* (*passim*), and *LMC* VII 926–34. Around 500 BCE he appears on the metopes of the south side of the Athenian treasury at Delphi, as the more visible counterpart to Herakles whose deeds are shown on the metopes of its north side; see Brommer, *Theseus* 68ff. with bibliography; Boardman, *Greek Sculpture* 190 and fig. 213; Neils, *Theseus* pl. v figs. 19–24.

2. The myth

Ode 17, like 15, bears a double title: ἡῖθεοι ἢ Θησεύς. The youths (ἡῖθεοι) are the fourteen young Athenians, seven girls and seven boys, whom the Athenians had to send as a periodic tribute to Crete, where they would be eaten by the Minotaur in the Labyrinth. According to Hellanikos (*FGrHist* 4 F 164), Minos came himself to Athens to select them. When the tribute was due for the third time, Theseus, the young son of Aigeus, the king of Athens, sailed with them. On Crete, he encountered Ariadne, king Minos'

daughter, who gave him the ball of thread that would, once he had slain the Minotaur, help him find his way out of the Labyrinth; their encounter is illustrated on the François vase, see above, p. 174. This part of the story is already referred to in the *Odyssey* (11.321–5), the Labyrinth in *Iliad* 18.590–4 (according to the scholiast's interpretation of χορὸν . . . οἶόν ποτ' ἐνὶ Κνωσῶι εὐρείῃ | Δαίδαλος ἥσκησεν καλλιπλοκάμωι Ἀριάδνῃ, see Leaf II 610), and it was told, according to Proklos' summary (*PEG* p. 40), in the *Kypria* in one of Nestor's digressions.

This is the framework into which the episode narrated in Ode 17 has been fitted, with great dramatic effect, as tension builds up right from the beginning. Minos, stirred by Aphrodite, cannot keep his hands off the 'white cheeks' of one of the maidens, Eriboia (Ἐπιβοία on the François vase) who cries for help; Theseus rebukes Minos in a bold speech, emphasizing that while Minos may be the son of Zeus and Europa, he too has a divine father, Poseidon, to whom Pittheus' daughter, Aithra, has borne him. 'Therefore', he challenges Minos, 'curb your insolence!' (39–41). He is ready to fight, should Minos violate any of the fourteen young people.

Minos, angered by the young prince's boldness and perhaps 'still more by the implied doubt of his divine parentage' (Jebb p. 224), prays to Zeus for its confirmation by a thunderbolt, which promptly comes, and then challenges Theseus to retrieve a golden ring which he throws into the sea. Theseus leaps from the sterndeck and is carried by dolphins to the bottom of the sea, where he sees the Nereïds and Poseidon's wife, Amphitrite, who gives him a cloak and a wreath. With these gifts, Theseus emerges at the stern of the ship, to Minos' dismay but the Athenians' delight, 'a miracle for all' (θαῦμα πάντεσσι, 123).

As mentioned above (pp. 174–5), this episode was in all likelihood Bacchylides' own invention, and its earliest representation in art, the Euphronios/Onesimos cup in the Louvre, almost certainly reflects a performance of this ode. There are other reflections: two slightly later Attic vases illustrate the encounter between Theseus and Amphitrite (Appendix nos. 14 and 15), two more (Appendix nos. 16 and 17) place Poseidon in the centre (which is how one might have imagined this scene without direct knowledge of Bacchylides' poem), and one more has Theseus seated between Amphitrite and Poseidon (Appendix no. 18). All five vases are dated to 480–470 BCE. The episode was also the subject of a wall-painting by Mikon in the temple of Theseus in Athens, mentioned by Pausanias (1.17.3); unfortunately, his description is not very helpful: the painting, he says, is 'not clear'

(οὐ σαφής) unless one knew the story, partly because of its age (when he saw it, it would have been more than six hundred years old), partly because the painter ‘had not painted the whole story’ (οὐ τὸν πάντα ἔγραψε λόγον). Then he tells the story according to the mythological handbooks which he used, which differed from Ode 17 in one interesting detail: they *said* (λέγουσιν – this is no longer his description of Mikon’s painting!) that Theseus brought back from the sea that ring and a golden wreath, and a very similar version was used by Hyginus in his *Poet. astron.* 2.5. The detail of the retrieved ring is probably due to the mythographers’ tendency to tidy up loose strands of a story; Bacchylides himself does not mention the ring again, because to return it, obeying Minos’ order, would have been an anticlimax, humiliation rather than triumph. Amphitrite’s gifts, on the other hand, the purple cloak and the wreath of roses, once her own wedding present from Aphrodite, are the visible signs of the gods’ favour which ‘shone on his limbs’ (λάμπε δ’ ἄμφι γυίοις θεῶν δῶρα, 123–4), while Minos’ ring, presumably a signet ring and therefore a symbol of power, is lost in the sea. The very visible nature of the divine gifts also explains why Theseus does not meet Poseidon who did not have anything so spectacular to give him (the three wishes which Poseidon grants Theseus in Euripides’ *Hippolytos*, 887–98 and 1315–19, were not *visible* proof of his paternity and favour, and may have been a later innovation anyway); instead, he meets Amphitrite whose wreath of roses is an omen for Theseus’ impending encounter with Ariadne and whose purple cloak protects him in the sea, as Ino’s ‘shawl’ (κρήδεμνον) protects Odysseus when his raft has been shattered (*Od.* 5.333–462).

1 κυανόπρωρα ‘with dark prow’; this form also appears in the poetic word list *SH* 991.32 (= *PHibeh* II 172; 3rd century BCE), cf. Simonides *PMG* 625; in Homer, the compound adjective has two terminations (feminine in -ρος, *Il.* 15.693, *Od.* 3.299).

μέν: for ‘inceptive’ μέν (without a following δέ) see the examples, mostly from tragedy and Aristophanes, in Denniston 382–4.

2 δις ἑπτ[ά]: later authors (Euripides *HF* 1326–7, Plato *Phd.* 58a, Diodoros 4.61.3), refer to the fourteen young Athenians with the same phrase, which may have been coined by an epic source (the *Kypria*?, see above, p. 176). Theseus is not included in this number; the oldest evidence for Theseus plus the ‘twice seven’ youths is a 7th century Boiotian skyphos (Appendix no. 20). Pherekydes, however, counts Theseus as one of the Fourteen, *FGrHist* 3 F 148.

3 ἰαόνων: see on 18.2.

5–6 τηλαυγῆ . . . πίπνο[ν] αὔραι: ‘northerly breezes fell on the far-shining sail’. πίπτειν, said of wind, means ‘to die down’, as in *Od.* 14.475, 19.202, Hes. *Op.* 547, but with ἐς or ἐν + object ‘to fall upon’, cf. Hes. *Th.* 873 αὔραι . . . πίπτουσαι ἐς . . . πόντον, *Op.* 510–11 (Boreas) χθονὶ . . . ἐμπίπτων.

φάρει: φᾶρος is ‘cloth’, e.g. the white cloth which covers Patroklos’ corpse in *Il.* 18.353. Its extended meaning, ‘cloth’ > ‘sail’, is based on *Od.* 5.258–9 where Kalypso φάρε’ ἔνεικε . . . ἱστία ποιήσασθαι, cf. Eur. *Hec.* 1082. It is ‘shining afar’, so presumably white, in contrast to the dark prow. The version followed by Plutarch (*Thes.* 17.4) has Theseus sail with a black sail, but with instructions to set a white one in case he were saved – or a red one, according to Simonides, from whose poem (a dithyramb ?) Plutarch quotes four lines (*PMG* 550). Both Plutarch and Simonides imply an Athenian ship, as does the François vase, not Minos’ own, as Bacchylides seems to do.

7 ἔκατι π[ε]λεμαίγιδος Ἀθάν[α]ς: for Athena ‘shaking’ (πελεμίζειν) her aegis, see [Hes.] *Sc.* 344–5 αἰγίδ’ ἀνασσεισασσα and Eur. *Ion* 210 γοργωπὸν πάλλουσαν ἴτον. By the will (ἔκατι, cf. Leumann, *Hom. Wörter* 251–8) of Athena, the north wind will drive the ship southward towards Crete. The implication of this phrase is, as Ruth Scodel has pointed out (1984: 137), that the goddess will help Theseus and his protégés and protect them on their dangerous journey. This is also the message of her picture which Onesimos has so ingeniously ‘translated’ into art on the Euphronios cup in the Louvre by giving her the little owl as a symbol of her city.

8 κνίσειν τε Μίνω<ϊ> κέαρ: for κνίζειν in an erotic sense (‘stir, arouse’) cf. Pindar, *P.* 10.60, Hdt. 6.62, Eur. *Med.* 568, Theokritos 4.59. As the responsion in line 31 shows, the name has to be trisyllabic here (–~~, as in [Hes.] fr. 145.10), but ~~~ in line 68; whether short or long, the final iota was certainly pronounced.

10 [ἀ]γὰ δῶρα: the distance between the first two letters after the gap excludes [α]ῖγὰ. For the meaning of ἀγνός (‘sacred, belonging to a god or gods’), see Gerber 1965: 212–13.

12–13 θίγεν δὲ λευκὰν παρητῖδων: for θιγγάνειν in an erotic sense cf. Archil. 118 W. χεῖρα Νεοβούλης θιγεῖν. The girl’s cheeks are white, not because she panics (this might be the implication in Eur. *Med.* 923 and *El.* 1023), but because white skin was traditionally an essential element of

female beauty, cf. *Od.* 18.192–6 (Athena makes Penelope ‘whiter than ivory’) and the evidence collected by Irwin, *Colour Terms* 112–14.

14–15 βόασέ τ’ Ἐριβοία: a pun on the girl’s name (‘far-shouting’) derived from βοᾶν rather than βοῦς (both etymologies are attested in scholia); so also in 13.102–4 Ἐριβοίας παῖδ’ ὑπέρθυμον βοά[σῳ] Αἶαντα.

χαλκοθώρα[κα: in 47 he is ἄρεταιχμος, but neither epithet necessarily means that Theseus was actually wearing a corselet and carrying a spear on board Minos’ ship – the point is rather that for reasons of poetic symmetry, he needs a warlike epithet to give him a heroic stature like that of his opponent, the ‘warlord’ of Knossos (39); cf. μενέκτυ[πον] Θησέα (1–2) ≈ μενεπτόλεμος ἥρως (= Minos, 73).

16–20 ἶδεν . . . δῖνα[σ]εν . . . ἄμυξεν . . . εἶπεν: four finite verbs at short intervals suggest excitement; reactions to Theseus’ bold speech are similarly expressed in 47–52: εἶπεν . . . τάφον . . . χόλωσεν . . . ὕφαινε . . . εἶπέν τε.

17–18 μέλαν . . . ὄμμα: μέλαν may be predicative, expressing pain (cf. *Il.* 4.117 μελαινέων . . . ὀδυνάων, also 4.191, 17.83, 499, 573) or rage (as in the English phrase ‘giving someone a black look’), cf. *Il.* 1.103–4 μένος δὲ μέγα φρένες ἀμφὶ μέλαιναί | πίμπλαντ’, see Kirk ad loc. and S. West on *Od.* 4.661–2; Combellack 1975: 81–7.

21–3 ὄσιον . . . θυμ[όν]: ὄσιον (predicative) is ‘righteous, morally appropriate’, cf. 3.83 ὄσια δρῶν.

μεγάλαυχον . . . βίαν: Kenyon’s correction is necessary, as the papyrus’ reading μεγάλουχον (‘holding big things’ ?) would not make sense in this context. Cf. Philikos’ hymn to Demeter, *SH* 680.28 [μεγ]άλαυχόν τε βίαν ἔτικτεν, also Pindar, *P.* 8.15 βία δὲ καὶ μεγάλαι-υχον ἔσφαλεν ἐν χρόνῳ (‘violence makes even a good man fall over time’). The verb, αὐχεῖν, does not mean ‘to vaunt’ but ‘to feel strong, be proud’, see Fraenkel on Aesch. *Ag.* 1497 and Barrett on Eur. *Hipp.* 952.

24–5 ἐκ θεῶν μοῖρα παγκρατῆς . . . κατένευσε: while in the *Iliad* it is Zeus who signals his decisions by ‘nodding assent’ (2.112, 8.175, etc.), B. makes ‘all-powerful fate’ the subject; he clearly sees Moira as superior to the gods who administer her decisions to mortals, so ἐκ θεῶν goes with κατένευσε rather than with μοῖρα, cf. Aesch. *Pers.* 100–1 θεόθεν γὰρ κατὰ Μοῖρ’ ἐκράτησεν | τὸ παλαιόν.

25–6 καὶ Δίκας ῥέπει τάλαντον: unless this is a kind of parenthesis (‘– and the scales incline –’, i.e. confirm), one needs to supply ὅποι ‘wherever, whichever way’, because ῥέπειν (‘incline’) is always intransitive (only

the compound, ἐπιρρέπειν, can have an accusative object). For the image of the ‘scales of Justice’, see on 4.11–13.

28–9 βαρείαν . . . μῆτιν: ‘hard to bear’ (cf. 96 βαρείαν . . . ἀνάγκαν), rather than ‘grievous’ or ‘disastrous’. Theseus would find it ‘unbearable’ if Minos raped any of his protégés: he would rather risk his life and fight him, lines 41–6.

29–33 εἰ καὶ σε . . . ἀλλὰ κάμει: after *Il.* 1.280–1, where Nestor says to Achilles ‘you are, admittedly, stronger, having a goddess as your mother, yet he (Agamemnon) is superior . . .’ (εἰ δὲ σὺ καρτερός ἐσσι, θεὰ δὲ σὲ γείνατο μήτηρ, | ἀλλ’ ὃ γε φέρτερός ἐστιν . . .); see the examples of εἰ καὶ + indicative collected by Denniston, *Particles* 300; on ἀλλὰ following a conditional clause, see Denniston 11.

31 μιγεῖσα: sc. Διί, understood from Διός (30). In Crete, Europa became mother of Minos and Rhadamanthys, *Il.* 14.321–2, [*Hes.*] fr. 140–1.

34 Πιτθέος θυγάτηρ: Aithra, daughter of Pittheus, king of Troizen, and granddaughter of Pelops, see *LMC* 1 420–31. In his reply, Minos accepts Theseus’ claim of divine parentage, i.e. of equal status with himself, as a hypothesis (εἰ δὲ καὶ σε . . . , 57–63), daring him to prove it.

35 πλᾶθεῖσα: corresponds to μιγεῖσα 31, as Theseus is careful to balance his claim against his opponent’s.

36–8 χρύσειον . . . κάλυμμα: what kind of object could this be? In Homer, ‘golden’ refers either to gods and things belonging to them, or to metal objects such as a belt (*Il.* 4.132–3, *Od.* 5.232 = 10.545) or a necklace (*h. Ven.* 88f.) but not to a piece of fabric, such as a veil. Besides, line 38 appears to be one long syllable short. Maas (*Resp.* 11 19) suspected κάλυμμα to be a gloss that had supplanted the original word. If this is what happened, we should be looking for a four-syllable word (– – – –) for a golden object, such as a piece of jewellery, or a belt; περίζωμα and περίβλημα are prose words, and περίπτωμα (in Eur. *Ion* 1391 the ‘wrapping’ of a baby basket) may be a long shot.

40 πολύστονον: see on 16.24 πολύδακρυον. The compound, used proleptically, amounts to a warning before the open threat in which the speech culminates (41–6).

41 ἐρύκεν: Doric infinitive, see 16.18n. Here the short ending is required by the metre.

43–4 τιν’ ἡϊθέ[ων] . . . ἄεκοντα: including the women; the ἡῖθεοι are the fourteen, or ‘twice seven’, young Athenians.

46 δα[ίμων]ν κρινεῖ: see on 5.91–2. Homer’s fighters usually refer to δαίμων, as Hektor does in *Il.* 7.291–2 (μαχῆσομεθ’, εἰς ὃ κε δαίμων | ἄμμε

διακρίνη), while the poet himself names individual gods. This difference was first observed by Jörgensen 1904: 357–82.

49–50 ὑπεράφανον [θ]άρσος ‘proud boldness’, in a positive sense, as in Ibykos, *PMG* 282.16–17 ἡρώων ἄρετὰν ὑπεράφανον. The audience’s reaction to significant events is an important element in Bacchylidean narrative: see 86 (τάφεν, sc. Minos), 92–6 (the young Athenians), 120–9 (Minos and the Athenians), and on 3.9 for further examples.

50 Ἀλίου τε γαμβρῶι: Pasiphaë, Minos’ wife, was a daughter of Helios (Ap. Rhod. 3.999, Paus. 5.25.9).

50–1 χόλωσεν ἥτορ, ὕφαιné τε: the subject of χόλωσεν is Theseus (to be inferred from ἥρωσ 47), the subject of ὕφαιné is Minos; cf. Hes. *Th.* 568–9 for a similarly abrupt change of subject: (Prometheus angers Zeus,) ἐχόλωσε δέ μιν φίλον ἥτορ, ὥς ἴδ’ (sc. Zeus!) ἐν ἀνθρώποισι πυρρὸς . . . αὐγήν.

ποταινίαν: Minos is ‘weaving’ a ‘novel’ plan by forcing Theseus to accept his challenge and to leap into the sea; having himself challenged Minos and claimed divine parentage, Theseus had no other option.

53–8 εἴ πέρ με . . . εἰ δὲ καί σε . . . : Minos takes up Theseus’ challenge (29–38), referring to his parentage in the same way as Theseus had referred to his own (29–32) – he is getting his own back. The two speeches show the opponents on equal terms, thus heightening the dramatic tension: the odds appear to be against Theseus, but the outcome of the confrontation remains open until Theseus surfaces again with Amphitrite’s gifts.

53–4 νύμ[φ]α Φοίνισσα: Europa, see 17.31n.

56 πυριέθειραν ἀστραπάν ‘a fire-tressed lightning flash’. Pindar invented a similarly bold compound: πυρπάλαμον βέλος . . . Διός, *O.* 10.80: Pindar calls lightning ‘fire-handed’ because it sets on fire what it hits, cf. πυρφόρον . . . κεραυνόν *N.* 10.71.

60–2 χρύσειον χειρὸς . . . κόσμον: a ring, perhaps a signet-ring, as Pausanias calls it σφραγίδα (1.17.3), see above p. 177.

63 δικών ‘throwing’; the verb occurs only in the aorist (ἔδικον, δικεῖν).

πατρὸς ἐς δόμους: ‘Minos hints a doubt as to whether Theseus is Poseidon’s son; that is the sting’ (Jebb); see also on 79–80.

66 ἀναξιβρέντας: the ‘Lord of thunder’ will send the lightning flash. There is no need to change the papyrus reading (–βρόντας Kenyon), cf. Pindar, *Paean* 12.9 ἀργιβρένταν . . . Ζῆνα, and see Schwyzler 1 499–500 (with *addenda* 839).

68 Μίνωι: pap. **A** has ΜΙΝΩΙ, the metre requires shortening (‘correction’) of the ω by the following vowel which must be long, like the iota in

dative singular endings in Homer (*Il.* 14.459 Αἴαντι δὲ μάλιστα, 22.314 κόρυθι δ' ἐπένευε – these and many other examples from Homer can be found in K-B 1 310.11; see also Chantraine, *GH* 1 217). In 8, however, Μίνω<ι> must be –υ.

70 πανδερκέα: it seems that B. used πανδερκέα, which nearly always has active meaning ('seeing all'), in a passive sense, 'seen by everybody'; he may have been thinking of phrases like φάος πολυδερκέος Ἡοῦς in Hes. *Th.* 451, where the scholion explains the compound as ὑπὸ πολλῶν ὁρώμενον. Pap. **O** has a variant reading, πάνταρκέα, which would have to be neuter plural, = πάντα τὰ ἀρκούντα 'all the necessary things' (cf. Eur. *Phoen.* 554), and would hardly make sense here.

72 χεῖρα πέτασε (–υζ): pap. **A** has ΧΕΙΡΑΣ ΠΕΤΑΣΣΕ, **O** ΧΕΙΡΑ[Σ] ΠΕΤ[;] as the corrector of **O** realized, the singular is required here: raising both hands is a gesture typical of prayers, whereas here Minos is emphatically urging Theseus to do as he has been told, and emphatic or excited exhortations tend to be accompanied by a deictic gesture, i.e. the stretching out of the right hand, as illustrated by the spectators of the chariot race on the dinos fragment by Sophilos in Athens: Nat. Mus.15499; *ABV* 39.16 (Appendix no. 21).

73 μενεπτόλεμος ἦρω: Minos is 'staunch in battle', a 'warlord' (πολέμαρχος 39), an 'army leader' (στραταγέτας 121); the audience is consistently led to expect a fight, a violent clash – instead, the conflict is resolved on a different level; see Scodel 1984: 142.

75 ἴβλέπεις† cannot be right: (a) the metre requires –υ– and a word beginning with vowel (so that the preceding μέν can be measured short), (b) the tense is wrong: the lightning comes in a split second, so nothing but an aorist will do. Perhaps B. wrote ἔδρακες, which was replaced by a supra-linear gloss (δρακεῖν and δέρκειν are glossed by forms of βλέπειν in Hesychios δ 673 and 2307).

75–6 σαφή Διὸς δῶρα: σαφή is predicative, 'you saw clearly Zeus' gifts'; the emphasis is always on *visible* confirmation: 57 σᾶμ'ἀρίγνωτον, 69–70 τιμὰν . . . πανδερκέα. B. puts the plural here because the Διὸς δῶρα for Minos will be matched by the θεῶν δῶρα brought back by Theseus (124).

77–9 Κρονί[δας] . . . Ποσειδάν: Κρονίων or Κρονίδας alone refers to Zeus; 'when Κρονίδας or Κρόνιος is said of Poseidon, he is always named (as here and in Korinna fr.1 [= *PMG* 658], Pind. *O.* 6.29) or indicated, as in 18.21 by Λυταίου | σεισίχθονος' (Jebb).

79–80 ὑπέρτατον κλέος χθόνα κατ' ἡὔδενδρον: Minos, reassured by the thunderbolt sent by Zeus and now openly triumphant, ends his speech

with cruel mockery – he expects his opponent to meet not with ‘supreme fame throughout the well-wooded earth’, but with a miserable death by drowning in the sea.

81–4 Theseus jumps – the only possible answer to Minos’ scornful challenge – from the ἱκρία, a half-deck at the stern of the ship (cf. *Od.* 13.74–5), also called ἐδωλία, as in *Hdt.* 1.24.4–6 who makes Arion sing, στάντα ἐν τοῖσι ἐδωλίοισι, before jumping into the sea where he is carried by a dolphin. Did B. know this story, and did it inspire lines 97–100?

85 θελημὸν ἄλσος: the sea is Poseidon’s ‘sacred precinct’, which is ‘willing’ to receive his son, Theseus. The adjective, (ἐ)θελημός, is first found in *Hes. Op.* 118, where it is said of the people of the golden age, who ἐθελημοὶ | ἥσυχοι ἔργ’ ἐνέμοντο ‘unforcedly, lived quietly off their fields’, see West ad loc. The scholia on *Hes. Op.* 118–19 claim, wrongly, that ἐθελημοὶ καὶ ἥσυχοι ταῦτόν ἐστιν, ἡσύχως καὶ ἔκουσίαι γνώμηι, and this explanation recurs in *Hesych.* θ 213 θελημόν· ἥσυχον. *Ap.Rhod.* uses the word in this sense, 2.557–8 θελήμονα . . . εἰρεσίην ‘quiet rowing’, whereas *Emp.* fr. 35.5–6 and later *Kallimachos, h.Dian.* 31 appear to have understood the word in the sense of ‘willing, friendly’, which is also found in *Hesychios* (ε 641 ἐθελημοί· πρῶθυμοι).

86–7 τάφην δὲ . . . ἔνδοθεν κέαρ: why is Minos taken aback? After all, Theseus did what he had dared him to do. Perhaps he did not expect that Theseus would accept the challenge, or he may sense ‘deep down in his heart’ (ἔνδοθεν κέαρ) that things are not going as planned, and so gives order to sail on, ‘close to the wind’ (κατ’ οὖρον), to make quite sure that Theseus will drown.

88 ἴσχειν: infinitive, see 16.18n. In line 23, this form of the aorist means ‘hold down, control’, but it is often used as a metrically convenient substitute for ἔχειν, e.g. in *Pindar*, fr. 61.2 σοφίαν . . . ὀλίγον τοι ἀνὴρ ὑπὲρ ἀνδρὸς ἴσχει, *P.* 11.29 ἴσχει τε γὰρ ὄλβος οὐ μείονα φθόνον. Besides, ἔχειν (ἴσχειν) νῆα means ‘to steer a ship’ (*Od.* 9.279, 10.91, 11.70, also in prose: *Thuc.* 7.35.2 ἴσχοντες πρὸς ταῖς πόλεσι), like προσίσχειν in *Hdt.* 4.156.3. There is therefore no reason to suppose that ἴσχειν . . . νῆα here means ‘he ordered to *stop* the ship’; that the opposite is meant is confirmed by 90–1.

89 μοῖρα . . . ὁδόν: the ‘path’ of the ship has become the ‘path’ of events, which are about to take a turn not foreseen by Minos; cf. *Eur. Hel.* 1318 (Zeus) ἄλλαν μοῖραν ἔκραινε.

90 δόρυ ‘ship’, after *Homer’s* δόρυ νηϊον; ‘in *Homer*, however, δόρυ in this sense is applied specifically to the ship’s beam, not to the ship as

a whole', Braswell on Pind. *P.* 4.27(a). Cf. Sim. *PMG* 543.10 ἐν ἀτερπέϊ δούρατι (of Danae's and Perseus' chest) and Aesch. *Pers.* 411.

ᾄοι: imperfect of σοέω, cf. σεύω/σεύομαι. In Homer, all forms of σεύω/σεύομαι are treated as if they began with σσ– (e.g., *Il.* 17.463 ὅτε σεύαιτο, 23.198 τε σεύατο, also λαόσσοος 13.128); a noun derived from this stem, *σσόφος, reflected in Hesychios' lemma σοῦς ἡ ὀρέουσιν, generated a *verbum denominativum* σοέω (cf. Wackernagel, *Kl.Schr.* 1 220–1), the active of which is attested only here.

91 βορεᾶς . . . ἄητα: a reminder of the opening section, esp. 6 βορήϊαι . . . αὔραι. The papyrus has BOPEOYΣ corrected to BOPEĀΣ, i.e. βορεάς (adjective), as in Aesch. fr.195.2 βορεάδας ἦξεις πρὸς πνοάς.

93 ἡϊθέων <—> γένος: however the first word is measured (— —, i.e. ἡϊθέων or ἡϊθέων), it appears to be one long syllable short, but no suitable monosyllable has been suggested; besides, ἡϊθέων seems oddly redundant next to Ἀθηναίων: perhaps it was added above the line as an explanation, but was then misunderstood as a 'correction', of the word below which may have been an epithet of γένος: ἀβροπενθές? (cf. Aesch. *Pers.* 135 where the Persian women, bereft of their husbands, are ἀβροπενθεῖς). In B., ἀβρός seems to have no negative connotation, cf. 18.2n.

95 λειρίων . . . ὀμμάτων: they shed tears from their 'tender eyes', cf. Suda λ 396, where it is glossed as 'with soft/gentle (προσηνεῖς) eyes'. B. may have been thinking of Homer's χρῶα λειριόεντα (*Il.* 13.830) which the scholia explain as 'tender as a flower' (εὐανθής, ἀνθηρόν, or ἀπαλόν, Apoll. Soph.); this meaning is also evident in Pindar's wonderful metaphor describing the coral as λείριον ἄνθεμον ποντίας ἑέρσας (*N.* 7.79).

97–8 δελφῖνες {εν} ἀλιναιέται: pap. A has ΕΝ ἈΛΙ | ΝΑΙΕΤΑΙ (the grave accent indicates that the syllable is unaccentuated, i.e. the syllables so marked are part of a longer word), but εν is against the metre. In an older text without accents, it would have been easy to mistake ΑΛΙ for a separate noun (ἄλι) which would then require the preposition ἐν, 'dwelling in the sea' (ἐν ἄλι ναίεται) rather than 'sea-dwelling' (ἀλιναιέται). Plutarch has collected stories of dolphins saving human lives in *De sollertia animalium* 36 (*Mor.* 984a–985c); on Arion's story and the hymn attributed to him (= *PMG* 939, quoted by Aelian, *Hist. animalium* 12.45), see Bowra, *On Greek margins* 164–81 and Hooker 1989: 141–6.

99–100 πατρός ἱππίου δόμον recalls *Il.* 13.17–38, where Poseidon in his marine palace yokes his horses before driving across the sea in his 'unwetted' chariot (οὐδ' ὑπένερθε διαίνετο, 30); see below on 122. On Poseidon

Hippios and his connection with horses, especially in cults in Arcadia, see Jost, *Sanctuaires* 284–92.

102–3 ξδεις' ὀλβίοιο Νηρέος κόρας: pap. **A** has ΕΔΕΙΣΕ ΝΗΡΕΟΣ ΟΛΒΙΟΥ ΚΟΡΑΣ, which can be made to correspond to ~ – – – ~ – – – – ~ – either by transposing two words and slight modification, giving ξδεις' ὀλβίοιο Νηρέος κόρας, as Ludwig suggested, also Richards (1898: 77), or by Kenyon's ξδισε<ν> Νηρῆος, which has been accepted by most editors; in favour of the former proposal is the close correspondence of sound, i.e. vowels, of (Νη)ρέος κόρας with 37 τέ οἱ δόσαν and 80 κλέος χθόνα in the metrically corresponding verses.

103–4 ἀπὸ γὰρ ἀγλαῶν . . . γυίων 'from their shining limbs'. Mortals often perceive gods in a supranatural sheen, see *h.Ven.* 86–90; *h.Dem.* 189 and 280; Soph. *OC* 1650–2; in *Od.* 19.40, Telemachos infers from the light in the hall that 'indeed, there is a god inside' (ἤ μάλα τις θεὸς ἔνδον).

108 ὕγροισι ποσσίν: the Nereids are dancing 'with supple feet', not 'on sea-wet toes' (Burnett, *Art* 22). For this meaning of ὕγρός cf. Pindar, *P.* 1.9 (the eagle of Zeus) κνώσσων ὕγρον νῶτον αἰωρεῖ. Jebb cites Xenoph. *Eg.* 1.6 (horses should ὕγρὰ ἔχειν τὰ σκέλη) and Pollux 4.96 ὕγρος ὀρχηστής. B. may, however, have chosen the epithet because of its ambiguity, implying a kind of 'pun'.

In poetry and art, Nereids, daughters of Nereus and Doris (Hes. *Th.* 240–64), accompany marine gods. As here in B., they are said to dance also in Euripides (*Ion* 1078–86; *IT* 427–9): while the Muses sing in praise of Zeus and the Olympian gods (Hes. *Th.* 36–53; Pind. fr. 31), the Nereids' dance pays homage to Amphitrite and Poseidon, in silence but to great visual effect, as Theseus' reaction indicates. Strangely, dancing Nereids seem to be unknown to archaic and classical Greek art, whereas 'tableaux' showing Poseidon's or Amphitrite's marine cortège (and occasionally also Aphrodite's, cf. Apul., *Met.* 4.31) were popular; cf. Soph. *OC* 716–19; Plato, *Kritias* 116; many illustrations can be found in *LIMC* VII s.v. Nereiden; see also Barringer, *Divine escorts* 162–5.

109–10 ἄλοχον φίλαν σεμνὰν βοῶπιν: B. accumulates epithets in order to give a higher profile to a prominent figure at a crucial juncture of his story. Here it is Amphitrite who suddenly appears before the young hero's eyes, as if this were a fairy tale; in 5.98–9 and in 11.37–9 it is Artemis who makes her entry, see on 11.39.

112 ἀμφέβαλεν αἰόνα πορφύρεαν: in Homer, ἀμφιβάλλειν is often construed with the double accusative, as here, of the person and the object, 'to

throw over' someone a garment or the like, e.g. *Il.* 24.588 ≈ *Od.* 3.467 ἀμφὶ δέ μιν φᾶρος καλὸν βάλον ἥδ' ἐχιτῶνα. The verb strongly suggests a piece of cloth, a shawl or cloak; the noun is attested in Hesych. ε 2225 ἔλυμα . . . καὶ τὸ ἱμάτιον. καὶ ἡ ἰώων, and Latte has drawn attention to αὐνα in *P. Amherst* 1 3a col.2.20 (= Wilcken, *Chrestomathie* 126) which he regarded as a non-Greek word used for a linen garment or cloak (Latte 1932: 272 and 1955: 192). It may well be an Egyptian noun for 'cloth' or 'cloak': demotic *ʒjw* (Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar* 55) and Coptic EIAAY, EIΩ, IΩ (Crum, *Coptic Dictionary* 88a). Words for fashion items are often imported from another country, together with the fashion item itself (e.g., brassière, chif-fon, décolleté, mohair, cashmere, shawl).

The painter of the crater from Ruvo, now in Harvard (Appendix no. 17) gave Theseus a fringed shawl.

114–16 ἀμεμφέα πλόκον . . . ῥόδοις ἐρεμνόν: Aphrodite's wedding gift for Amphitrite was 'dark with roses'; B. may have been thinking of a twisted gold wreath with inserted roses. For the erotic symbolism of roses cf. Stesichoros, *PMG* 187 (wreaths of roses are thrown to Helen and Menelaos at their wedding), and Eur. *Med.* 841 εὐώδη ῥοδέων πλόκον ἀνθέων. The mythological handbooks seem to have described Amphitrite's wreath as 'golden' (Paus. 1.17.3) and studded with gem stones rather than real roses (Hyginus, *Poet. astron.* 2.5 *coronam* . . . *compluribus lucentem gemmis*).

δόλιος Ἀφροδίτα: in lyric poetry, Aphrodite is often called 'crafty', first in Sappho 1.2 (δολόπλοκε, an epithet borrowed by Theognis 1386, cf. *PMG* adesp. 949; Sim. *PMG* 541.9–10 and perhaps *PMG* adesp. 919.7), also Sim. *PMG* 575.1 (δολομήδης). δόλιος fem. is first found here, then in Eur. *Hel.* 238 (ἃ δὲ δόλιος . . . Κύπρις). The thread, which Ariadne gives Theseus to help him find his way out of the Labyrinth, was a crafty gift inspired by love, cf. Apollod. *Epit.* 1.8.

117–18 ἄπιστον . . . οὐδέν: a double *asyndeton* (not connected to either the preceding or the following sentence by particles) with a double function: it caps the description of Theseus' reception by Amphitrite, and it marks the transition to the next stage of his story, his reappearance. On B.'s use of *asyndeta* see ode 19.8n. and Maehler 2000; on the functions of general statements or *gnomai*, see the Introduction, p. 24.

θέωσιν: the papyrus has θελωσιν, which cannot be right: (a) the corresponding verse 52 begins with – ~, and (b) in all the variations of this *topos* (see on 3.57–8) B. and Pindar say 'whatever the gods *do* or *accomplish*', not 'what they wish for', which would be rather pointless. θέωσιν (aorist

subj. of τιθέναι, ‘they may bring to pass’, cf. *Od.* 8.465 οὕτω νῦν Ζεὺς θεῖν) resolves both difficulties; for the confusion, cf. *Il.* 18.601, where the MSS are divided between θέησιν (from θέειν ‘to run’) and the nonsensical θέλησιν.

φρενοαραις βροτοῖς: the compound means ‘fitted together in his mind’ (cf. *Od.* 10.553 φρεσιν ᾗσιν ἄρηρώς), or ‘having his head screwed on’ – nobody in his right mind would doubt the overwhelming power of the gods: for them, nothing is impossible; to accept this shows common sense.

119 νῆα πάρα . . . φάνη: Theseus’ re-emergence ‘next to the ship’ is the dramatic climax of the whole story, emphasized by *asyndeton*. As often in B., its impact is illustrated by the audience’s reactions (see on 49–50 above, and on 3.9): on Minos (120–1), on the maidens (125), and on the youths (128).

119–21 φεῦ, οἶαισιν ἐν φροντίσι . . . ἔσχασεν: the interjection φεῦ is very common in tragedy and in Aristophanes, rare in prose (Xenophon, Plato), not found in lyric poetry except here; cf. Schwyzer II 600–1 on the different types of interjections. Sophokles, like B. here, sometimes uses φεῦ with exclamations (*OT* 316, *El.* 920, *Ai.* 1266), as does Aristophanes (*Frogs* 141, *Ploutos* 362); B. may well have borrowed it from tragedy.

ἔσχασεν: Theseus ‘deflates’ his opponent in his φροντίδες, or, as Kenyon aptly put it, ‘the reappearance of Theseus pricked the bubble of Minos’ self-gratulation’. In medical writers, and also in Xen., *Hell.* 5.4.58, the verb means ‘to slit’ (a vein), which seems far removed from its meaning in the maritime metaphors in Pindar, *P.* 10.51 (κώπαν σχάσον), Eur. *Tro.* 811 (πλάταν ἔσχασε ποντοπόρον) and Kall. fr. 11.3 (σχάσαντες ἑρεμῶ). Both meanings may ultimately go back to something like ‘to loosen’ (a grip), ‘to release’ (tension), hence in medicine ‘to release’ (blood pressure etc.) by cutting a vein. A close parallel to B.’s phrase is σχάσας τὴν φροντίδα in Ar., *Clouds* 740: in both passages the idea seems to be that ‘thinking’, like rowing, is a concentrated effort that implies tension and comes to a halt when that tension peters out. This might also be the clue to the other passage where Pindar uses the verb, *N.* 4.64: Peleus, wrestling with Thetis who changes into fire, then into a lioness, λεόντων ὄνυχας . . . ἀκμὴν καὶ δεινοτάτων σχάσαις ὀδόντων ‘made the lions’ claws and teeth lose their force’, ‘made them limp’.

122 ἀδίαντος: Theseus returns from the bottom of the sea ‘unwet’; this word, perhaps inspired by *Il.* 13.30 (Poseidon’s chariot, see on 99–100), is evidently chosen to emphasize the miraculous nature of his reappearance (θαῦμα πάντεσσι, 123) which had been announced in 117–18.

124–5 θεῶν δῶρα: the plural seems to indicate that the ‘gifts’ (the cloak and the wreath, 112–16) come from both Amphitrite and Poseidon. The ring is not brought back: the symbol of Minos’ power is lost in the sea; see above, p. 177.

ἀγλαόθρονοι . . . κοῦραι: the seven Athenian maidens on board the ship, not the Nereids; the only reason for believing that these might be Nereids, their epithet ἀγλαόθρονοι, is inconclusive, since Pindar also calls Danaos’ daughters ἀγλαόθρονοι, *N.* 10.1, Kadmos’ daughters εὐθρονοι, *O.* 2.22, whether these compounds be derived from ‘throne’ (θρόνος) or ‘ornaments’ (θρόνα), see Risch 1972: 17–25; Merkelbach 1973: 160. The Nereids stay with Amphitrite; there is not a word about their accompanying Theseus back to the surface. The *gnome* 117–18 marks the transition from the marine world back to the human world. Theseus’ reappearance is reflected in the onlookers’ reactions: their ‘new-founded joy’ (σὺν εὐθυμίαι νεοκίτιωι 125–6) can only be that of the Athenian maidens; see Gerber 1982: 3–5.

127–9 ὠλόλυξαν . . . παϊάνιξαν: the two verbs express the female and male forms of ritual invocation, *ololyge* and *paian*; cf. Sappho, fr. 44.31–3 γύναικες δ’ ἐλέλυσδον . . . πάντες δ’ ἄνδρες . . . ἴαχον ὄρθιον Πάον’ ὀνκαλέοντες, Xen. *Anab.* 4.3.19 ἐπαϊάνιζον πάντες οἱ στρατιῶται καὶ ἀνηγάλαζον, συνωλόλυζον δὲ καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες ἅπασαι, cf. also Soph. *Tr.* 205–11. On the close link between *paian* and *ololyge* see Calame, *Les chœurs de jeunes filles* 149–52, who concludes (151) that *ololyge* tends to appear in ritual contexts which require the invocation of a god, either to ask for his protection, or to thank him for his support. Here, the maidens and youths sing in separate groups, but close (ἐγγύθεν, 128) to each other, in accordance with the formula which first introduced them (δὺς ἐπτὰ).

130 Δάλιε: on the Delian festival, the ‘Apollonia’, see Introduction, pp. 172–3. B. uses the prayer for success here, in the festival competition, to merge, as it were, the song which concludes the mythical narrative (the *ololyge* and *paian* of the young Athenians) with the Keian choir’s paean to Apollo. Although prayers for future successes, or for divine help and protection generally, conclude several of Pindar’s victory odes (*O.* 1, 6, 8, 13, *P.* 5, 8, *N.* 9, *I.* 7, see Bundy 77; see also B. 5.197–200), they are, more generally, ‘in essence a concluding motive belonging to the hymnal form’ (Bundy 78). The hymn is an offering presented to the god by the choir; this is, of course, also true of Pindar’s paeans; cf. *Pae.* 5.43–8 ἱήϊε Δάλι’ Ἀπολλων· | Λατόος ἔνθα με παῖδες | εὐμενεῖ δέξασθε νόμι θεράποντα | ὑμέτερον κελαιδενναῖ | σὺν μελιγάρυϊ παιᾶνος ἀγακλέος ὀμφᾷ, ‘Teie Delian

Apollo – there may you children of Leto with a glad mind welcome me as your attendant with the ringing honey-voiced sound of a far-famed paean’; cf. also *Pae.* 1.9–10; 2.102–8; 6.177–83, and the end of Aristonoos’ paean for Delphi, lines 44–8 ἰήϊε Παιάν, χαρεῖς ὕμνοις ἡμετέροις, ὄλβον ἐξ ὁσίων διδοὺς ἀεὶ καὶ σώϊζων ἐφέποισι ἡμᾶς, ὦ ἰὲ Παιάν, ‘O Paean, if you were pleased by our hymns, visit us, giving prosperity always by lawful means, and protecting us’ (*Coll. Alex.* 162–4 = Käppel, *Paian* 384–6 = Furley and Bremer II 45–52).

131 φρένα ἰανθείς: B. could have avoided the hiatus by writing φρένας, but he may have thought that ἰαίνεσθαι begins with digamma (for a similar mistake, see on 5.75 ἰόν). ἰανθείς ‘warmed’ (= ‘cheered’) corresponds to χαρεῖς in Aristonoos’ paean (quoted in the previous note); similarly Pindar says of Zeus, *O.* 2.13: ἰανθείς ἀοιδᾶς εὐφρων ἄρουραν ἔτι πατρίαν σφίσιν κόμισον λοιπῶν γένει, ‘cheered by my songs, graciously preserve their ancestral land for their children still to come’. The idea that the god may, if he or she is pleased by the song or the prayer, be willing to respond favourably appears to be the origin of the χαῖρε formula which concludes many of the shorter Homeric hymns; cf. also Pindar, *I.* 1.32.

ODE 18 = DITHYRAMB 4

1. *Performance and date*

Although there can be no doubt that this dithyramb was composed for the Athenians, it is less clear at which festival it was performed. The Great Dionysia, Thargelia, Hephaistia, Theseia, and the Great Panathenaia have been suggested. In view of the way in which Theseus is described in the last stanza, where he is given the typical attire and weapons of an Athenian ephebe, one might think of a festival at which ephebes played a prominent part. Merkelbach thought of the following scenario (see Merkelbach, *Theseus* 56–62, followed by Ieranò 1987: 87–103): On the day of the festival, a trumpet signal summoned the public to the theatre; when the Athenians had gathered there, they were presented with a dramatic performance, a mini-drama consisting entirely of dialogue. The chorus leader asked the king, Aigeus, why he had called an assembly, and the king then reported what a messenger had just told him about a young hero and his exploits, ending with ‘and he is said to be heading for splendour-loving Athens’ (δίζησθαι δὲ φιλαγλάους Ἀθάνας, 60). Shortly afterwards the ‘hero’

may have appeared in a group of second-year ephebes who, coming back from the Isthmos where they had been stationed, now entered the theatre from the Eleusinian road. These ephebes now performed a military display (ἀρήϊον ἄθυρμα, 57), showing off what they had learnt during the preceding months.

Speculative, of course, but perhaps not unlikely: according to Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* 42.4, in their second year the ephebes showed their military skills to the people who gathered in the theatre. The young hero who is approaching Athens and whose identity is still unknown to the king and the chorus but not to the audience, is described as παῖς πρώθης (56–7), he carries two spears and a sword and wears a Thessalian cloak (χλαμύδα 54); *Ath. Pol.* 42.5 also says that ephebes wear cloaks during their two-year military service (φρουροῦσι δὲ τὰ δύο ἔτη χλαμύδας ἔχοντες).

If Theseus is indeed portrayed as a typical Athenian ephebe here, the ode may date to the time when the Athenians kept garrisons, manned by ephebes, along the Isthmos, i.e. from 460 to 444 when Athens controlled the region of Megara. Thukydides repeatedly refers to νεώτατοι (1.105.4; 2.13.7); in addition, Siewert (1977) draws attention to some fifth-century allusions to the ephebic oath which had remained unnoticed: Thuc. 1.144.1; 2.37.3; Soph. *Ant.* 663–71; Aesch. *Pers.* 956–62, so that the Attic *ephebeia* can be traced back to the middle of the fifth century, cf. Gercke 1997:1072.

At this point, a bold conjecture by J. P. Barron may become relevant (Barron 1980: 1–8), who suspects that Theseus' attributes (κυνέαν Λάκαιναν 50, οὔλιον Θεσσαλὸν χλαμύδα 53) may refer to the names of Kimon's three sons Lakedaimonios, Oulios and Thessalos; on these, see Davies, *Athenian propertied families* 304–7 and Kirchner, *Prosopographia attica* 10212 (under Miltiades II). According to Plutarch (*Kimon* 16.1), Lakedaimonios and Oulios were twins; their parents, Kimon and Isodike, married c.480, and if their sons were born c.478–475 they would have been ephebes c.460–55. Could it be, then, that all three of them were among the ephebes (νεώτατοι) who in 458, together with the veterans (πρεσβύτατοι) and under Myronides' command, defeated the Corinthians at Geraneia, the mountain ridge between the Isthmos and Megara, while the main part of the Athenian army was fighting the Aiginetans? Their victory was famous, cf. Thuc. 1.103; Diod. 11.79; [Lysias], *Epitaphios* 48–53; Andokides 3.6; Aristides' *Panathenaios* (or. 1) 214–17 Lenz-Behr; see Gomme on Thuc. 1.105.4 and Pelekidis, *Histoire de l'éphébie attique* 47–9.

Supposing that Ode 18 was performed at the Panathenaia of 458, in late August, the young hero's attributes may well have been understood by the audience as tributes to Kimon's sons if these were among the victorious ephebes who returned to Athens that summer. If, moreover, they had inherited the Thracians' red hair from their grandmother, Hegesipyle (who was the daughter of a Thracian chieftain), even the colour of Theseus' hair (κρατὸς . . . πυρσοχαίτου, 51) may provide a clue, see Barron 1980: 2 with n.19. This may, of course, be nothing more than a string of strange coincidences; but as there are so many, they may not be coincidences after all; the idea is certainly attractive.

2. *The myth*

There is dramatic irony in the fact that the young hero's identity is not revealed in the ode and remains unknown both to king Aigeus, his human father, and to the chorus who represent the people of Athens, but will have been clear to the 'real' people of Athens, the audience of Bacchylides' dithyramb, from the herald's account of his five great deeds (19–30): as so often in tragedy, they know more than protagonist or chorus or both.

How can they know about them? The five deeds of Theseus which B. describes all appear for the first time on Attic vases of the last quarter of the sixth century, often combined to a 'cycle'. Of the 23 'cycle' vases listed in Brommer (*Theseus* 67–8 and *Vasenlisten* 211–12), only two are black-figured, 21 are early Attic red-figured, 18 of these are cups; see *LIMC* VII 922–34 nos. 33–53. At the turn of the century, the Treasury of the Athenians at Delphi deploys Theseus' early deeds in its nine metopes on the south side (this is the side which a visitor, coming up the sacred way through the sanctuary, would see first). On the metopes, see Brommer, *Theseus* 68–9 and plates 1–4a; Boardman, *Greek sculpture* 190 and fig. 213; Neils, *Theseus* pl.5 figs. 19–24.

Theseus' rather sudden rise to prominence in Attic vase painting in the decade 520–510 BCE cannot be coincidence. Its aim was evidently to put Theseus, the Attic/Ionian hero, of whom not much had been seen or heard in earlier art or poetry, on a par with the Dorian Herakles, an initiative which probably reflects the growing power of Athens in the time of Peisistratos and his sons. It is highly unlikely that it was generated by the vase-painters themselves; the vases almost certainly reflect poetry, perhaps an authoritative poem commissioned either by Peisistratos or by one of his

sons, or possibly by their rivals, the Alkmeonids. If it was a poem, could it have been the *Theseid* mentioned by Plutarch, *Thes.* 28.1 (= *PEG* pp. 135–6)? Was it an epic poem? There may have been an older epic *Theseid* which told of Theseus' Cretan adventure, the killing of the Minotaur, and his encounter with Ariadne, even though not a single hexameter has survived. These old stories, and especially Theseus' fight with the Minotaur, appear on Corinthian vases (and through them, on Etruscan vases) and in Boiotia before they appear in Attica.

Theseus' exploits on the Isthmos, by contrast, which all appear first in Attic art in the last quarter of the sixth century, are probably inspired by an influential poem composed and/or performed in Athens around 520 BCE. According to Plutarch (*Thes.* 20.1–2), Peisistratos had been keen to promote Theseus as the national hero of Athens and to enhance his reputation by removing from Hesiod's works a line which presented Theseus as a womanizer (Plutarch quotes as his source Hereas of Megara, *FGrHist* 486 F 1), and by inserting a line describing Theseus and Peirithoos as sons of gods into the *Odyssey* (*Od.* 11.631) 'as a favour to the Athenians' (χαρίζομενον Ἀθηναίοις). Such cosmetic surgery would not have been necessary if there had been an authoritative *Theseid* in the time of Peisistratos, and the vase paintings do indeed suggest a later date, not long before 520. The most prominent poet who lived at Athens, at the invitation of Peisistratos' son Hipparchos ([Plato], *Hipparchos* 228c), was Simonides. Plutarch quotes four lines from a lyric poem (*Thes.* 17.5 = *PMG* 550) which told of Theseus' departure from Athens and his agreement with his father who gave him a 'purple sail' (φοινίκεον ἱστίον) to substitute for the black one in case he were saved. This seems to imply that the poem also told of Theseus' tragic mistake: on the journey back from Crete, both he and his steersman whom Simonides named as Phereklos, son of Amarsyas, forgot to change the sails, and Aigeus, seeing the ship approaching with a black sail, 'threw himself from the rock [= the Akropolis] in despair' (ἀπογνόντα ῥίψαι κατὰ τῆς πέτρας ἑαυτὸν καὶ διαφθαρήναι, *Plut. Thes.* 22.1). It seems possible, although it cannot be proved, that Simonides' poem also told of Theseus' exploits on his way from Troizen to Athens, since nearly all the 'cycle' vases, and in particular the early ones, show those exploits combined with Theseus' fight with the Minotaur, as do the metopes on the south side of the Athenian Treasury at Delphi. Simonides also mentioned Theseus' rape of the leader of the Amazons, whom he named as Hippolyte, not Antiope, as she is called in most other sources (Apollod.

Epit. 1.16; cf. Lorenzoni 1980–82: 51), but whether he did so in the same poem we cannot say. Plutarch (*Thes.* 27.5) derived this information not from Simonides but from Kleidemos (*FGrHist* 323 F 18). On Attic vases, where the Amazon is named she is always Antiope or Antiopeia, see Bothmer, *Amazons* 124–5.

3. Structure

The structure of ode 18 is unique among the extant dithyrambs of B. and Pindar in that (a) it consists of four strophes (not triads) alternating between speakers, and (b) it consists entirely of dialogue; there is no narrative. The first strophe is addressed to the ‘King of Athens’, who is identified as Aigeus, son of Pandion, in line 15. The speakers’ identity is not explicitly stated; they must be Athenian citizens, since they speak of ‘our land’ (5). They have been summoned, presumably to the agora, by a trumpet signal (3–4) and are now waiting for their king to explain why. The second strophe is the king’s explanation; strophe 3 continues the citizens’ questions, which in strophe 4 the king answers with the physical description of the unnamed young hero who is about to arrive at Athens.

The setting of this strophic dialogue resembles the assembly of the Ithakians at the beginning of the second book of the *Odyssey* (see 3n.) and the opening of Soph. *OT* (where, however, the roles are reversed: it is the king who asks the assembled suppliants); particularly close is Aesch. *Ag* 82–103 where the chorus of old Thebans ask Klytaimestra what news she has received.

It is conceivable that the unusual form of ode 18 was suggested to B. by the parodos of Aeschylus’ *Agamemnon*; if the date tentatively suggested for ode 18 (August 458) is correct, B. may have witnessed the performance of the *Oresteia* at Athens in the spring of that same year.

1 Βασιλεῦ: Aigeus, see on 15.

2 ἄβροβίων . . . ἰώνων: cf. 17.3 κούρους ἰαόνων[ν]. The Athenians always regarded themselves as Ionians; Theseus was said to have marked the boundary, after the annexation of the region of Megara, at the Isthmos by a stela which defined the land on its eastern side as Ἰωνία (Plutarch, *Thes.* 25.4). The luxurious lifestyle of the ‘old’ Ionians = Athenians is often referred to in comedy (Kratinos’ *Ploutoi*, fr. 257 = *PCG* IV 252, Telekleides fr. 25 = *PCG* VII 677), by Thuc. 1.6.3, and by Herakleides Pontikos (in Athen.

12.512bc) who points out that luxury had not made them decadent because they were the ones who ‘defeated the might of all Asia’ at Marathon, and those who are most famous for their ‘wisdom’ (σοφία) consider ‘pleasure’ (ἡδονή) the greatest good, for which he quotes Simonides (*PMG* 584). In Herakleides’ view, the age of pleasure and luxury at Athens lasted until the Persian wars.

3 τί νέον ἔκλαγε: the series of questions which begins here recalls a scene at the beginning of Book 2 of the *Odyssey* where, in an assembly of the people of Ithaka, old Aigyptios opens the debate by asking ‘And now who has called us together? On whom has such need come either of the young men or of those who are older? Has he heard some tidings of an invading host, which he might tell us plainly, seeing that he has first learned of it himself? Or is there some other public matter on which he is to speak and address us? A good man he seems in my eyes, a blessed man. May Zeus fulfil unto him himself some good, even whatsoever he desires in his heart’ (νῦν δὲ τίς ὧδ’ ἦγειρε; τίνα χρεῖω τόσον ἵκει | ἢ ἐ νέων ἀνδρῶν, ἢ οἱ προγενέστεροί εἰσιν; | ἢ ἐ τίν’ ἀγγελίην στρατοῦ ἔκλυεν ἐρχομένοιο, | ἢ ν χ’ ἡμῖν σάφα εἴποι, ὅτε πρότερός γε πύθοιτο; | ἢ ἐ τι δῆμιον ἄλλο πιφαύσκεται ἢ δ’ ἀγορεύει; | ἐσθλός μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι, ὀνήμενος· εἴθε οἱ αὐτῶι | Ζεὺς ἀγαθὸν τελέσειεν, ὃ τι φρεσὶν ἦσι μενοιναῖ, *Od.* 2.28–34). The situation which B. evokes in the first stanza is very similar to (and may have been inspired by) Aesch. *Ag.* 82–103, esp. 82–7 σὺ δέ, Τυνδάρεω | θύγατερ, βασιλεία Κλυταιμῆστρα, | τί χρέος; τί νέον; τί δ’ ἐπαισθομένη, | τίνος ἀγγελίας | πειθοῖ περίπεμπτα θυοσκεῖς; ‘But you, daughter of Tyndareos, Queen Klytaimestra, what is it now? what news? what did you notice, what message has persuaded you to supervise sacrifices sent around?’ Like the old men of Thebes in *Ag.*, the citizens of Athens in this ode have assembled to question their sovereign about a message they know has just arrived.

3–4 χαλκοκώδων σάλπιγξ: ‘in peacetime’, B. says (fr. 4.75), ‘there is no din of bronze trumpets’. The trumpet was the obvious instrument for giving signals in war and in military training, but was also used in competitions to announce the entry of the contestants: Pollux 4.87 says that ‘the trumpet entered the contests from military training; it is sounded each time the contestants are called up’; cf. Pickard-Cambridge, *Dramatic festivals* 67; West, *Ancient Greek music* 118–21. It therefore seems plausible that a trumpet signal could actually have been given to announce the performance of this dithyramb. The shape of the instrument is illustrated by a well-preserved specimen in Boston, see Sachs, *History of musical*

instruments 145–8; Caskey 1937: 525–7. An ivory mouthpiece was fitted into a bronze tube which ended in a bell-shaped opening (the κώδων), as described in Schol. Soph. *Aias* 17 κώδων καλεῖται τὸ πλατὺ τῆς σάλπιγγος. Passages like *Il.* 18.219 and 21.388 suggest that it produced a very loud sound.

6 ἀμφιβάλλει implies something like a ‘hunting-net’ as its object, as in Soph. *Ant.* 342–3 κουφονόων τε φύλον ὀρνίθων ἀμφιβαλὼν ὄγρει and in *trag. adesph.* 127.6–10 ὁ δ’ ἀμφιβάλλεται ταχύτους . . . ἄφνω δ’ ἄφαντος προσέβη . . . πολύμοχθος Αἰδᾶς. Demosthenes also uses the metaphor of casting-nets and stake-nets to describe Philip’s tactics (4.9 προσπεριβάλλεται and περιστοιχίζεται, cf. 6.27).

8 ληισταὶ κακομάχανοι ‘evil-planning robbers’ who drive sheep away. Cattle- and sheep-rustling was the most common cause of armed conflicts in Greek mythology, cf. *Il.* 11.670–705, Hes. *Op.* 163 μήλων ἔνεκ’ Οἰδιπτόδαο, *Od.* 9.405, Pindar, *P.* 4.148–50 (Pelias and Jason), Ap.Rhod. 1.1340–1.

11 καρδίαν ἀμύσσει ‘rends your heart’; the original meaning of the verb seems to be ‘to scratch’, cf. *Il.* 19.284–5 (Briseis mourns Patroklos’ death), χερσὶ δ’ ἀμυσσεν | στήθεά τ’ ἦδ’ ἀπαλὴν δείρην ἰδὲ καλὰ πρόσωπα. B. uses it, here and in 17.18–19, in the same sense as Aesch. *Pers.* 161 καὶ με καρδίαν ἀμύσσει φροντίς.

The chorus ask three questions in descending order of urgency: (1) Is an enemy army approaching our city?, (2) are some robbers stealing sheep?, or (3) what else worries you? If they were really alarmed, they would put them in reverse order, because in a *tricolon* the important point would normally come last. Their relative detachment gradually changes into optimism during their second speech (31–45) which creates an ironic contrast to their king’s growing alarm in 46–60.

12 εἴ τιτι βροτῶν: ‘you, if any mortal . . .’ amounts to a superlative, as in 5.4–5 and Pindar, *P.* 3.85–6 λαγέταν γάρ τοι τύραννον δέρεται, εἴ τιν’ ἀνθρώπων, ὁ μέγας πτόμος, both times with reference to Hieron. Here, the chorus’ confident assertion that Aigeus, ‘if any mortal’, has the support of valiant young men (ἄλκίμων ἐπικουρίαν . . . νέων), is ignored by the king but highlights the military value of the Athenian epebes; see Introduction, pp. 189–91.

15 Πανδίωνος υἱὲ καὶ Κρεούσας finally establishes the addressee’s identity: he is king Aigeus, son of Pandion and father of Theseus. Pandion was one of the ten eponymous heroes of the Attic ‘tribes’ (φυλαί), see Kearns, *The heroes of Attica* 87–91, 115–17, 191–2 and Kron, *Phylenheroen* 104–19. Kreusa

appears as his wife, and mother of Aigeus, only here; in Eur. *Ion* 57–8 and 1589–1600 (and hence in Apollod. 3.15.1) she is the wife of Xuthos and mother (by Apollo) of Ion.

16–17 Νέον ἦλθε<ν> answers the first question (τί νέον ἔκλαγε, 3): a messenger has ‘just’ arrived, the king has summoned his people without delay.

δολιχὰν ἀμείψας . . . κέλευθον ‘having completed the long journey’ (about 70 km). Transitive ἀμείβειν = ‘to exchange’; if its accusative object is a place, it means ‘to cover’ or ‘to cross’, as in Aesch. *Pers.* 69 πορθμὸν ἀμείψας (also middle, cf. Simonides’ epigram *AP* 7.677.2 = Page, *Epigr.* 99–102, quoted in Hdt. 7.228: ποταμὸν . . . ἀμειψάμενοι), Eur. *Or.* 1295 κέλευθον, *Iph.Aul.* 144 πόρον.

18 ἄφατα δ’ ἔργα ‘indescribable deeds’; B. seems to use the compound in the sense of ‘terrifying’, cf. Pindar, *N.* 1.47 where μελέων ἄφάτων refers to the bodies of the snakes strangled by Herakles. This phrase, which prefaces the account of the five ‘Isthmian’ exploits, epitomizes the king’s alarm.

19–20 τὸν ὑπέρβιον . . . Σίνιν: the epithet vaguely hints at Sinis’ violence, but B. does not specify what Sinis did. The audience will have known him as the ‘pine-bender’, πιτυοκάμπτης, who tied strangers to a bent pine-tree which he then released, catapulting them into the air; Theseus killed him in the same way, see Apollod. 3.16, Plut. *Thes.* 8.3, Paus. 2.1.4, Hygin. *fab.* 38. He appears on several of the early ‘cycle’ vases, e.g. Brommer plates 9b, 11b, 12, 13 = Neils, *Theseus* nos. 55, 3, 94, 111 respectively. Diodoros 4.59.3 and the *hypothesis* b to Pindar’s *Isthmians* (III p.192 Drachmann) make Sinis tie his victims’ arms to *two* bent pines which, when released suddenly and simultaneously, tore the bodies apart.

21–2 Κρονίδα Λυταίου σεισίχθονος τέκος: Poseidon’s cult name Λύταιος is attested only here. It refers to Lytai in the Tempe valley in Thessaly, so called because Poseidon ‘loosened’ the rocks to let the water of the Peneios through to the sea (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Λυταί, cf. Hdt. 7.129.4). Sinis is a son of Poseidon only here and in *hypothesis* b to Pindar’s *Isthmians*; in schol. Eur. *Hipp.* 977 he is the son of Polypemon.

23 σὺν δ’ ἀνδροκτόνον: on many ‘cycle’ vases, the ‘man-killing sow’ is shown together with an old woman who begs Theseus to have mercy on the animal. On one cup (Madrid 11265; *ARI*² 1174.1; Appendix no. 22) she is named Κρομμύω, so she is the nymph of the village of that name, half-way between Corinth and Megara.

24 Κρεμ<μ>υῶνος: ancient sources are split between Κρεμμ– and Κρομμ–. The papyrus shares the spelling with -ε- with Steph. Byz. who refers to Eudoxos, with Pliny, *HN* 4.7.11 (*Cremmyon*), and Hyginus, *Fab.* 38.

25 Σκίρωνας: a robber who forced passers-by to wash his feet and then kicked them over the ‘Skironian cliffs’ (Eur. *Hipp.* 979; Paus. 1.44.8; Diod. 4.59.4; Hyginus, *Fab.* 38.4). B. does not specify Skiron’s misdeeds but simply calls him ‘wicked’ (ἀτάσθαλος). He appears already on Attic black-figured vases (Appendix nos. 23, 24, 25). On the vases, he is often identified either by the washbasin or by the tortoise which ate his victims, according to Apollod. *Epit.* 1.2 who adds that his father was Pelops or, according to others, Poseidon. In contrast to this negative Attic version, the Megarians promoted a very different image; Plutarch (*Thes.* 10.2) says that they presented him as righteous and as avenger of robbers, and as father-in-law of Aiakos, the most righteous of men, ‘struggling “against the long time”, as Simonides put it’ (τῶι πολλῶι χρόνῳ πολεμοῦντες, *PMG* 643), implying that their writers (συγγραφεῖς, *FGHist* 487 F 1) were trying to counter a long-established negative tradition about Skiron. Against the background of the old hostility between Megara and Athens, mythology turned into a political propaganda war.

26 τάν τε Κερκύνος παλαίστραν: Pausanias (1.39.3) mentions a place near Eleusis that was known as ‘Kerkyon’s wrestling school’. Kerkyon, son of Branchos and Argiope (Apollod. *Epit.* 1.3), forced passers-by to wrestle with him and killed them all, before Theseus defeated him through his wrestling skill (τέχνη), as Pausanias says, or by lifting him up and crashing him to the ground, according to Apollodoros and some of the vases (e.g. Appendix nos. 26 and 27).

27–8 ἔσχεν: ‘he stopped’, as in 41. Pindar uses the verb in the same sense when he tells the story of Herakles and Antaios, which looks remarkably similar to that of Theseus and Kerkyon: *I.* 3/4.72 (Herakles came to Libya,) κρανίοις ὄφρα ξένων ναὸν Ποσειδάωνος ἐρέφοντα (sc. Antaios) σχέθαι, ‘to stop him from roofing Poseidon’s temple with the skulls of strangers’. On Antaios, see Apollod. 2.5.11; Diod. 4.17.4; Pherekydes, *FGHist* 3 F 76.

Πολυπήμονος . . . σφῦραν: Prokoptas (the ‘cutter’) had to drop the mighty ‘hammer of Polypemon’. This implies that Polypemon was his predecessor, perhaps his father (cf. Ovid, *Ibis* 407 *Sinis et Sciron et cum Polyphemone natus*); only Pausanias identifies the two as one person (1.38.5). In Apollod. *Epit.* 1.4 he is called Damastes, ὃν ἔνιοι Πολυπήμονα λέγουσιν, also in Plutarch (*Thes.* 11.1), cf. Hesych. δ 183. In most

other sources he is simply called Prokroustes (Diod. 4.59.5; Hygin. *Fab.* 38; Ovid, *Met.* 7.438 and *Her.* 2.69), and this name appears also on some vases (Appendix nos. 22 and 28; also on the outside of the kylix in Paris, Louvre G 104 – Appendix no. 13). According to Apollod. *Epit.* 1.4 and Plut. *Thes.* 11.1, he had two beds, one long and one short; he fitted his tall victims to the short bed by lopping off their extremities, and forced the short ones onto the long bed where he hammered them to length; Diod. 4.59.5 and schol. Eur. *Hipp.* 977 mention only one bed. On the vases he is identified by the hammer with which Theseus kills him; about half of them, the early ones in particular, omit the bed, as do the metopes of the Athenian Treasury at Delphi and the Hephaisteion in Athens.

30 ταῦτα δέδοιχ' ὅπῃα τελεῖται: both here and in 45, τελεῖται is future, as in Aesch. *Ag.* 67–8 ἔστι δ' ὅπῃ νῦν ἔστι· τελεῖται δ' ἐς τὸ πεπρωμένον. Aigeus is worried how this will end, i.e. whether the young hero is approaching with friendly or with hostile intentions. While the audience will have recognized Theseus from the king's description of his deeds, neither the king himself nor the chorus know who the anonymous hero is, but their reactions are very different, see on 45.

32 τίνα . . . στολάν: στολή can mean 'equipment' or 'clothing' ('equipment': Aesch. *Supp.* 764, *Pers.* 1018; 'clothing': Aesch. *Pers.* 192, Soph. *Phil.* 224, Ar. *Ecc.* 846 στολή ἱππική, cf. Hdt. 1.80.2). The chorus' questions concerning στολή, weapons (33–4) and companions (35–7), will be answered in reverse order by the king: companions (46), weapons (47–9), clothes (50–4), so στολάν in 32 is likely to refer to his *chiton* and *chlamys*.

33–4 σὺν πολεμηῖοις ὅπλοισι στρατιάν ἄγοντα: similar questions are asked in similar situations; at Ithaka, one of the elders asks 'who has summoned us to the assembly? Has he had news of an army approaching?' (ἦέ τιν' ἀγγελίην στρατοῦ ἔκλυεν ἐρχομένοις; *Od.* 2.30, see above on line 3). In Soph. *OT* 750–1, Oedipus asks Iokaste about Laios: πότερον ἔχῳρει βαιός, ἢ πολλοὺς ἔχων | ἄνδρας λοχίτας, οἳ ἄνῃρ ἀρχηγέτης; and in Aesch. *Cho.* 766–8, the chorus ask whether Aigisthos is to come alone or with his bodyguard, to which the nurse replies ἄγειν κελεύει (sc. Klytaimestra) δορυφόρους ὁπάοντας.

35 μοῦνον σὺν ὁπάοσιν: the papyrus has ΟΠΛΟΙΣΙΝ, a visual error caused by ὅπλοισι in the preceding line. On his 'companions' see below on 46.

36–7 ἀλάταν ἐπ' ἄλλοδαμίαν 'a wanderer in foreign lands', cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 897–8 ἀλώμενος | ξένην ἐπ' αἴαν, Aesch. *Ag.* 1282 φυγὰς δ'

ἀλήτης, τῆσδε γῆς ἀπόξενος. Everyone was a ‘foreigner’ outside his own city, unprotected and therefore dependent on a network of guest-friendship (ξενία); it was not advisable to travel alone: on vases, Theseus is often shown with armed companions (see on 46).

38 ἰσχυρόν τε καὶ ἄλκιμον ‘strong and valiant’; ἰσχυρός means ‘physically strong’, cf. Eur. fr. 290 N² ἄνδρα σκαῖον ἰσχυρόν φύσει | ἦσσαν δέδοικα τάσθενοῦς τε καὶ σοφοῦ, whereas ἄλκιμος also implies courage. The chorus express admiration rather than fear or concern.

41 ἔσχεν ‘halted’, see on line 27.

ἦ θεὸς αὐτὸν ὁρμαῖ: in the mouth of the Athenians’ chorus, this phrase expresses admiration: whoever this unknown hero may be, if he can accomplish such amazing deeds, surely a god must be driving him on. Homeric heroes are sometimes driven by a god; in *Iliad* 9.702–3 Diomedes says about Achilles that he may come back to fight, ὅπποτε κέν μιν | θυμὸς . . . ἀνώγηι καὶ θεὸς ὄρσηι: here, both his heart and a divine agent seem to pull in the same direction, whereas in the *Odyssey* these same agents are often seen as alternatives, as in *Od.* 4.712–13 where Medon replies to Penelope’s question why her son has gone to Pylos: ‘I do not know whether some god drove him, or whether his own heart (θυμός) felt the urge to go to Pylos’, cf. *Od.* 16.356–7 (the suitors have realized that Telemachos has evaded their ambush): ‘either one of the gods told them, or they themselves saw the ship pass’. Amazing inspiration or energy is also explained as ‘driven by a god’: so Demodokos ὁρμηθεὶς θεοῦ ἤρχετο, *Od.* 8.499, Orestes in Eur. *El.* 70 is πρὸς θεῶν ὁρμώμενος, as is Ankaïos in Ap. Rhod. 2.895: δὴ γὰρ θεοῦ ἔτραπτεθ’ ὁρμηῖ.

The affirmative ἦ is required here (see the examples in Denniston 280), not the disjunctive ἢ, as suggested by Slings (1990: 9–10) on the grounds that the chorus’ questions in this stanza should match those in the first (5–11). The syntax in the third stanza is different from that in the first, as the first question, τίνα . . . τίνα τε (31–2) is a double question, not an alternative one like ἦ τις . . . στραταγέτας ἀνὴρ; ἢ ληισταί (5–8), but then an alternative question follows, πότερα . . . ἢ μοῦνον (33–5), and there is no reason to assume that it should be followed by another alternative question. The chorus’ comment ‘Truly a god must be driving him’ is their conclusion from the account of the unknown hero’s incredible exploits which they have just heard of. Similarly, Pindar concludes (or rather, makes his chorus conclude) from the account of Pelops’ ivory shoulder that ‘indeed, there are many wonders’ (ἦ θαύματα πολλά, *O.* 1.27); cf. also Aesch. *Ag.* 1481.

42 δίκας: in the plural, the usual meaning in early epic is ‘decisions’ about conflicting claims, hence ‘judgements’, as in *Od.* 11.570 on Minos, the judge of the dead: οἱ δέ μιν ἀμφὶ δίκας εἴροντο ἄνακτα, cf. Hes. *Op.* 225, 262, *Th.* 85–6. ‘Punishments’ is a natural extension of this meaning. In Euripides’ *Skiron*, Theseus sees himself in the role of avenger: ἔστι τοι καλὸν κακοῦς κολάζειν (fr. 678 N²).

43–4 οὐ γὰρ ῥάιδιον . . . κακῶι ‘for it is not easy to perform deed after deed without meeting disaster’. Platt 1898: 63 took this to mean ‘it is not easy for one who is always doing evil (ἔρδοντα sc. κακῶ) to escape evil’, similarly Fagles in his translation: ‘Outrage mounting on outrage | always meets its retribution’ (*Bacchylides* 59). This cannot be right because, linked by γὰρ to the preceding sentence, it explains not that the wrongdoers are punished but that the hero is ‘driven’ by a god: ‘the unbroken series of his victories argues that Theseus is under divine protection’ (Jebb).

45 πάντ(α) . . . τελεῖται: future, see on 30. The similarity in wording is surely intentional: the chorus’ concluding line echoes Aigeus’ worried statement, but in a quite different sense: coming after 41–4, ‘in the long run, everything will be accomplished’ can only mean that ‘sooner or later it will turn out that he was indeed, as we suspected, under divine protection’. Aigeus’ and the chorus’ contrasting expectations seem designed to create ironical suspense for the audience: they know who the hero is, but how are they to imagine him? Will his physical appearance justify Aigeus’ concern or the chorus’ optimistic anticipation? This is rather like the suspense experienced by the spectators of a tragedy: although they know the basic elements of the myth, they want to *see* how it is staged, what it will *look like* on stage – the very terms *theatron* and *spectaculum* emphasize the visual aspect of drama. Aigeus’ description of the hero’s appearance is like a messenger’s speech in tragedy: it invites the audience to create a picture in their imagination of something they will not physically see on stage – unless, as Merkelbach speculated (see Introduction, pp. 189–90), it paves the way for the entry of the Athenian ephebes into the theatre.

46 Δύο οἱ φῶτε: Aigeus answers the chorus’ questions in reverse order, beginning with the last one (35–6). Theseus’ two companions appear on some vases, e.g. on a kantharos in Munich (inv. 2565; *ARI*² 889.169; Appendix no. 29) and on a bell-crater in Sydney which may illustrate Theseus’ arrival in Attica, published by Pryce 1936: 77–8 and pl.5 (Appendix no. 30; not in Neils). In some later sources they are named as Peirithoos and Phorbas, cf. Kearns, *Heroes of Attica* 193–4.

φῶτε μόνους: for the combination of dual with plural forms, cf. Plato, *Euthyd.* 273d ἐγελασάτην . . . ἄμφω βλέψαντες εἰς ἀλλήλους. Other examples can be found in K-G 170–3.

47 φαίδιμοισι δ' ὦμοις: Homer often speaks of 'gleaming limbs' (φαίδιμα γυῖα), only in *Od.* 11.127–8 (≈ 23.275) of Odysseus' 'gleaming shoulders' (hence Soph. frs.453 and 454). Homer's fighters wear a sword-band (ἄορτήρ or τελαμών) over their shoulder; see Foltiny 1980: E 239. A good illustration is the Corinthian *pinax* in Newhall 1931: 22, showing Herakles fighting the Hydra (first half of 6th cent. BCE).

48 ξίφος ἔχειν < ~ ~ ~ ~ >: the scribe left the second half of this line blank, presumably because he could not decipher it in his exemplar. He also left the first half (after the initial Δ) of 60 blank, perhaps for the same reason; it was subsequently filled in by the corrector, **A**². Desrousseaux's supplement <ἐλεφαντόκωπον> has been universally accepted; a sword with an ivory handle was not only a precious weapon and an indication of wealth (cf. Alkaios fr. 350.1–2 ἦλθες ἐκ περάτων γὰρ ἐλεφαντίναν | λάβαν τῷ ξίφεος χρυσοδέταν ἔχων), but, more importantly, it was the key element of the *gnorismata* which Aigeus had left with Aithra on his departure from Troizen, sword and sandals, by which his son could later be recognized by his father on his arrival at Athens. It had to be a distinctive sword: *cum pater in capulo gladii cognovit eburno | signa sui generis* (Ovid, *Met.* 7.422–3) and *regale patriis asperum signis ebur* (Seneca, *Phaedra* 899). Particularly relevant is Longos, *Daphnis and Chloe* 1.2 and 4.21 where the *gnorismata* of Daphnis are described; they are a purple cloak (χλαμύδιον ἀλουργές), a brooch of beaten gold (πύρπη χρυσήλατος), and a small sword with ivory handle (ξιφίδιον ἐλεφαντόκωπον) – these attributes, none of which suit their rustic environment in Longos, may have been borrowed from a description of Theseus on his way to Athens.

49 δύ(ο) . . . ἄκοντας: Homer's fighters usually carry two spears (*Il.* 3.18, 10.76, 11.43, 16.139 etc., also Jason in Pindar, *P.* 4.79). In many tombs from Mycenaean times to the seventh century, two spears of equal size, sometimes three, have been found, cf. Snodgrass, *Early Greek armour and weapons* 136–9 and *Arms and armour of the Greeks* 57–8.

50 κηῦτυκτον κυνέαν: in *Il.* 3.336, Paris puts on κυνέην εὔτυκτον, also Patroklos (16.137) and Teukros (15.480). In Homer, the κυνέη, 'properly a dog-skin cap, became a common term for the helmet, including metal ones, in general. It can be made of other skins (10.257f., 335) or of bronze', Kirk

on *Il.* 3.336. Theseus, however, is never shown wearing a helmet; on some vases he is wearing a traveller's hat, a πέτασος, which is sometimes called a κυνέη; in Soph., *OC* 313–14, Ismene is wearing a broad-brimmed sun-hat which is referred to as κυνὴ Θεσσαλὶς, and the scholion on Ar. *Birds* 1203 says that in the Peloponnese a πέτασος was called κυνέα, quoting a line from Soph. *Inachos*, fr. 272. So it seems that in some parts of Greece, at least, a κυνὴ was, if specified by Θεσσαλὶς, or, as here, Λάκωννα, a traveller's hat, although a 'Laconian' hat is not otherwise attested (B. may have chosen this epithet not to designate a particular type of hat, but as an allusion to Kimon's son Lakedaimonios, see Introduction, pp. 190–1).

51 κρατὸς πέρι: the papyrus has ὕπερ, against the metre, which may have been a gloss that replaced ΠΕΡΙ. While Demosthenes uses περί and ὑπέρ indiscriminately (see the examples collected in K-G 1 548 § 450), in hellenistic Greek ὑπέρ increasingly replaced περί in a local sense (see Schwyzer II 503), so that someone may have felt the need to clarify this unfamiliar use of περί.

πυρσοχαίτων: no other source gives Theseus auburn hair. Although Pasiphae, in Euripides' *Cretans* (fr.7.14–15 Cozzoli), includes red hair in her description of an attractive man, many writers express a strong prejudice against it, cf. [Arist.] *Phgn.* 812a16 οἱ ξανθοὶ εὖψυχοι· ἀναφέρεται ἐπὶ τοὺς λέοντας· οἱ πυρροὶ ἄγαν πανοῦργοι· ἀναφέρεται ἐπὶ τὰς ἀλώπεκας, also Aelian, *NA.* 15.14.12. Foreigners are often described as red-haired, especially those who live in cold and damp climates, such as Illyrians, Dalmatians, Germans, Sauromatai and Skythians, says Galen, *De temperam.* 2.5 (1618 K.), cf. [Arist.] *Problemata* 38.2 (966b32), and Xenophanes says the same of the Thracians, fr. 18 G.-P. If Barron is right in suspecting that Theseus' physical description in this stanza alludes to the three sons of Kimon (see above, p. 190), this feature may also be part of it, as their paternal grandmother, Hegesipyle, was the daughter of a Thracian chieftain, but we do not know whether her son or her three grandsons had red hair. Plutarch says only that Kimon had plenty of 'woolly' hair, οὕληι καὶ πολλῇι τριχὶ κομῶν τὴν κεφαλὴν (*Kim.* 5.3).

52–3 χιτῶνα πορφύρεον: purple was the royal colour *par excellence*; moreover, a purple garment (χιτῶνα) revealed Telemachos as Odysseus' son to Menelaos (*Od.* 4.115 and 154), as it indicated Odysseus' rank (*Od.* 19.225, 250). The *gnorismata* left with the young shepherd, Daphnis, include a purple cloak (χιταμύδιον ἀλουργές), which Longos may have borrowed from a description of Theseus, see on 48 (πορφύρεον may, however, be suspect, see the next note).

χιτῶνα πορφύρεον στέρνοις τ' ἄμφι: τε in fourth position is unparalleled. To remove this anomaly, Platt (1898: 63) suggested στέρνοις τε πορφύρεον | χιτῶν' ἄμφι, but (a) that transposition would make 53 begin with a short syllable (the three corresponding lines 8, 23, and 38, all begin with a long syllable), and (b) it would remove ἄμφι much too far away from στέρνοις. A different solution was suggested by W. S. Barrett (in an unpublished note, see Maehler, *Lieder* II 236) who suspects that B. wrote τ' ἀργύφειον, which was then corrupted to τ' ἀργυρέον, and that 'someone faced with the absurdity of a silver χιτῶν was moved (not thinking of the rare ἀργύφειον) to make a deliberate change of ταργυρεον to πορφυρεον, and to transfer the τε that was thus abolished to the one place where metre would now admit it'. ἀργύφειος 'white-shining' is said of clothing (*Od.* 5.230 = 10.543, the φᾶρος of Kalypso and Kirke; Hes. *Th.* 574, Pandora's dress), or more generally 'white': a sheepskin (*h. Dem.* 196, cf. Aphrodite's στήθεα ἀργύφει in *h. Hom.* 6.10), or 'bright', of the Nereids' marine cave (*Il.* 18.50).

53–4 οὐλίον Θεσσαλὸν χλαμύδ(α): οὐλίος usually means 'destructive' (= οὐλόμενος), but here it must be 'woollen' (= οὐλάν), like Odysseus' purple cloak (*Od.* 19.225). The word also occurs as a cult name of Apollo and Artemis: Theseus was said to have prayed to Ἀπόλλωνι Οὐλίῳ and Ἀρτέμιδι Οὐλίῃ before his departure for Crete (Pherekydes, *FGrHist* 3 F 149). Οὐλίος is attested as a personal name of one of the ancestors of the elder Miltiades (Pherekydes, *FGrHist* 3 F 2) and of one of the three sons of Kimon, see p. 190.

χλαμύδ(α): a Thessalian χλαμύς was a horseman's short cloak (Pollux 10.164 and 7.46), and as such became the hallmark of an ephebe in military training, cf. Arist., *Ath. Pol.* 42.4 (quoted on p. 190); Philemon fr.34 (*PCG* VII p.245) ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐς τὴν χλαμύδα κατεθέμην ποτὲ | καὶ τὸν πέτασον, Antidotos fr.2 (*PCG* II p.309) πρὶν ἐγγραφῆναι καὶ λαβεῖν τὸ χλαμύδιον. Theseus, the young hero on his way to Athens, is thus portrayed as the quintessential Athenian ephebe. In Heliodoros' *Aithiopika* (1.10.1), the Athenian Knemon tells of Demainete's passionate outburst when she saw him dressed as ephebe, with χλαμύς and garland: embracing him, she cried out ὁ νέος Ἰππόλυτος, ὁ Θησεύς ὁ ἐμός!

55–6 Λαμνίαν . . . φλόγα: 'Lemnian fire' appears in writers from the fifth century onwards, cf. Soph. *Phil.* 986–7 ὦ Λημνία χθὼν καὶ τὸ παγκρατὲς σέλας | ἥφαιστότευκτον and 800–1 τῶι Λημνίῳ τῶιδ' ἀνακαλουμένῳ πυρὶ | ἔμπρησον, also Ar. *Lys.* 299 and Lykophron, *Alex.* 227, where the scholion, quoting Hellanikos (*FGrHist* 4 F 71b), explains that

it was Lemnos where Hephaistos had his workshop and arms manufacture (II p.104 Scheer), and Antimachos (fr. 46 Wyss) places the ‘fire of Hephaistos’ on the summit of Mount Mosychlos on Lemnos, which he may have thought of as a volcano. Although ever since Homer’s time Lemnos had been linked with Hephaistos (*Il.* 1.593–4, *Od.* 8.283–4, see Nilsson, *Griech. Religion* 1497; Farnell, *Cults* v 374–95; Burkert, *Greek religion* 167), the island never had a volcano; on the origins of the fire ritual on Lemnos, see Burkert 1970: 1–16. B.’s phrase ὁμάτων . . . στίλβειν ἄπο . . . φλόγα reflects the proverbial Λήμνιον βλέπειν ‘with fierce look’, cf. Hesych. λ 873; *CPG* II 122 and 505; βλέπειν πῦρ Menander, *Misoum.* 321.

57 πρωθήβον: Homer has πρωθήβης (*Il.* 8.518, *Od.* 8.263, *h.Ap.* 450), fem. πρωθήβη (*Od.* 1.431). Theseus was only sixteen when he set out from Troizen, according to Pausanias (1.27.8); on the early red-figure ‘cycle’ vases he always appears unbearded. As well as being consistent with his description as an Athenian ephebe, it also makes his exploits all the more remarkable.

ἄρῳων δ’ ἄθυρμάτων ‘war-like pastimes’, like ‘war and the brazen din of battle’ (58–9). Heroes have their aggressive ambitions in their genes, which manifest themselves in their early youth; Achilles, from the age of six, παῖς ἔων ἄθυρε μέγ’ ἄλ’ ἐργα with his spear, hunting lions and boars (Pindar, *N.* 3.43–8), and his keen interest in weapons gave him away among the daughters of Lykomedes (*Kypria* fr.19, *PEG* p. 56).

60 φιλαγλάους Ἀθήνας: the last line echoes the first. It has a triple function: (1) It rounds the ode off by returning to its point of departure; Athens is splendour-loving (B. uses this epithet also in 13.229 and 24.13; Pindar gives it to Akragas in *P.*12.1, and also speaks of Athens’ ‘splendid market-place’ in his dithyramb, fr.75) as the Athenians live in luxury (see on 2 ἄβροβίων ἰώνων). The ‘bronze-din of battle’ (59) matches the ‘bronze-belled trumpet’ (3–4), μεμνᾶσθαι πολέμου recalls πολεμηῖαν αἰοιδάν (4). These thematic correspondences, in reverse order, create a kind of symmetrical frame. (2) It finally reveals *why* the king is so alarmed: after 57–9, ‘he is aiming for splendour-loving Athens’ must mean ‘he is coming to sack the city’; this is the culmination of the ironic divergence between the king’s worried ignorance and the audience’s knowledge that the anonymous hero is Aigeus’ own son who will be happily reunited with his father moments later, vindicating the chorus’ optimism. (3) It caps the hero’s description in the last stanza, which moves from ‘external’ features (his two companions, the sword, two spears, his hat and dress) to ‘internal’ ones (his fierce

determination, as revealed by his eyes; his thoughts of war-games, and his intention to head for Athens). This could have been the perfect moment for a group of Athenian ephebes, dressed and equipped like Theseus, to appear in the theatre – Merkelbach's scenario (see above, pp. 189–90) may not be altogether fanciful.

ODE 19 = DITHYRAMB 5

1. *Performance*

The title in the papyrus, Ιω Αθηναίσις, indicates that this dithyramb was composed for an Athenian festival (ὀλβίαις Ἀθάναις 10), and as its narrative culminates in the birth of Dionysos, there can be little doubt that this festival was that of Dionysos, i.e. the Great Dionysia. Among the extant dithyrambs of Bacchylides, this is the only one that tells a story directly linked to Dionysos. About its date, nothing can be said with certainty; there are, however, indications in the way the myth is presented that suggest a date of composition not later than about 460 BCE, see below, 2 (a) on Io.

2. *The myth*

(a) *Io, Hermes and Argos* Hermes' commonest epithet in Homer is ἀργεῖφόντης, which some ancient commentators explained as 'the one who slew Argos' (ὥς τινες κατ' ἐπωνυμίαν, schol. A on *Il.* 2.103), while others rejected this etymology and explained the epithet as ἀεργοφόντης in the sense of 'one who does not carry out murders' because they thought of Hermes as a peaceful god (ὁ ἀργὸς φόνου καὶ καθάρως . . . ἢ καταργοῦντα τοὺς φόνους· εἰρηνικὸς γὰρ ὁ θεός, Apoll. Soph. 42.10–11; cf. schol. bT and D on *Il.* 2.103). Homer, they argue, did not know the story of Io, as the episode of Argos was invented by later poets (τὸν γὰρ Ἰοῦς ἔρωτα οὐκ οἶδεν ὁ ποιητής· πέπλασται δὲ παρὰ τοῖς νεωτέροις τὰ περὶ τὸν Ἄργον). The first of the 'later' poets was supposed to be 'Hesiod', i.e. the *Catalogue of Women* (fr.124), where Io is a daughter of Peiren (on her genealogy, see West, *The Hesiodic Catalogue* 76–7), while according to Apollodoros (2.1.3) many of the tragedians made her a daughter of the Argive river-god Inachos. Apollodoros adds that she was a priestess of Hera at Argos and that Zeus, having seduced her, tried to protect her from Hera's jealousy by turning her into a white cow and swearing an oath that he had not touched her.

The claim that this kind of oath, a ὅρκος ἀφροδίσιος, does not attract the anger of the gods (or, as Plato says, ἀφροδίσιον γὰρ ὅρκον οὐ φασιν εἶναι, *Symp.* 183b), is here attributed to ‘Hesiod’ and linked to the story of Zeus and Io; given that Apollod. 2.1.3 refers to Hesiod and Akusilaos, it seems likely that this section of his account is based on Akusilaos (*FGrHist* 2 F 26) and, through him, on the *Catalogue of Women*.

Hera demanded the cow from Zeus and appointed Argos ‘the all-seer’ (πανόπτην) as her guardian; he tied the cow to an olive-tree in the sacred grove of Mycene. Zeus then sent Hermes to steal the cow, but in vain, as his intention was revealed (this motif recalls *Il.* 24.24 where the gods urge Hermes to steal Hektor’s body from Achilles, a suggestion which is rejected by Zeus as impossible because Thetis is with her son day and night, *Il.* 24.71–3). Unable to act secretly, Hermes confronts Argos and kills him with a stone, whereupon Hera sends the gadfly which chases and tortures the bovine Io all the way from Argos through Asia and Phoenicia to Egypt.

The moment before the killing of Argos is illustrated on a beautiful black-figured north-Ionian amphora from Vulci, dated around 530 BCE (Munich 585; Appendix no. 31). In the centre, a palm tree suggests a grove, in front of which a cow stands facing left. Behind her sits the ugly giant Argos; on his chest, close to his left shoulder, a third eye is visible, and so we may assume a fourth one on the righthand side as well, see Steinhart, *Das Motiv des Auges* 121 and pl.46. In his right hand he is holding the rope which is tied around the cow’s horns; one end of it is wound around his body, while Hermes who is approaching from the left (running, or on tip-toes?) with winged boots and a *pilos* but unarmed, grabs the other end with his left hand. In front of him stands a dog, with its head turned back towards him. The bearded giant’s mouth is wide open, he is shouting something, perhaps he has just noticed Hermes. The painter has chosen the moment of the most intense tension: Argos is just about to jump to his feet, and Hermes will grab the stone (his right hand is already reaching out) that will kill the giant.

A slightly different scene appears on an amphora in London which is stylistically close to Exekias and may be roughly contemporary with the first one (Brit. Mus. 1848.6–19.4; Appendix no. 32). Argos, with two faces like Janus, is crouching on the ground, supporting himself with his right hand, raising his left hand as if in defence or begging for mercy. Hermes, attacking him from the right, has grabbed his elbow with his right hand and is about to strike him with the sword in his raised left hand. The right-hand

half of the scene is taken up by the large cow facing right; behind her is Hera moving to the left and raising both arms as if begging for Argos' life.

Here, Argos' two faces, back and front, seem to be the painter's interpretation of his description in the *Aigimios*, [Hes.] fr. 294 = schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 1116:

καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ σκοπὸν Ἄργον ἴει (sc. Hera) κρατερόν τε μέγαν τε,
 τέτρασιν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ὀρώμενον ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα,
 ἀκάματον δέ οἱ ὥρσε θεᾶ μένος, οὐδέ οἱ ὕπνος
 πῖπτεν ἐπὶ βλεφάροισι, φυλακὴν δ' ἔχεν ἔμπεδον αἰεί:

how else could he have rendered the phrase 'watching with four eyes here and there'? Other sources give him a third eye on his neck and make him sleepless (Pherekydes, *FGrHist* 3 F 66), others imagine him as having eyes all over his body in accordance with his epithet πανόπτης 'all-seeing'. The earliest evidence for this is a *pelike* (jug) in Paris (Louvre G 229, *ARV*² 289.3; Appendix no. 33, with inscription ΠΑΝΟΠ[]; its date is 470–460, about contemporary with the earliest literary reference, Aesch. *Supp.* 304; so also Eur. *Phoen.* 1115 and Ar. *Ecll.* 80. The story continues to be popular with Attic vase painters throughout the fifth century; most of them can be found in Yalouris, *Le mythe d'Io* 3–23 and in *LIMC* v 665–9. They all show Hermes attacking the giant with a sword.

The representation of Io, however, undergoes a very interesting change. On the early vases, such as the black-figured amphora in Munich (above p. 206), she appears as a cow, sometimes even as a bull, e.g. on a red-figured *stamnos* in Vienna (Kunsthist. Museum iv 3729; *ARV*² 288.1; Appendix no. 34). Pausanias saw her on the 'Throne of Amyklai': 'Hera is looking towards Io who is already a cow' (3.18.13); this was a work of Bathyklēs of Magnesia, dated to the second half of the sixth century.

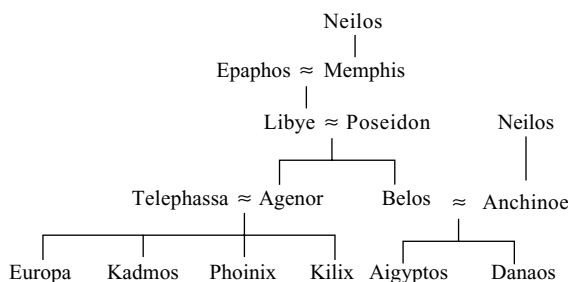
However, at some point between 460 and 450 her appearance changed from bovine to human: first, it seems, on an Attic *pelike* in Naples (Mus. Naz., ex Spinelli 2041; *ARV*² 1122; Appendix no. 35) and on a *skyphos* in Palermo (Fondazione Mormino 178; *ARV*² 1689; Appendix no. 36); on both these vases, which are dated c. 460–450, she appears in human form but with cow's ears and horns, and this is how she is consistently rendered by vase painters from the middle of the fifth century onwards. The only exception seems to be a Lucanian jug in Boston of c. 440–430 (MFA 1901.562; Appendix no. 37): a cow with a girl's head and a cow's horns, a belated south-Italian variation.

This sudden change in her iconography is likely to have been inspired by poetry, more precisely by a public performance at Athens of a dithyramb or a drama. As far as we can see, Io appears on stage for the first time (in human shape but with bovine horns) in Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound*, where she is addressed by the chorus as 'cow-horned maiden' (βουκέρωσ παρθένος 588), and Prometheus refers to her as κόρη (589 and 739) and νεῦνις (704); she herself refers to her cow's horns (κεραστίς δ', ὡς ὀρᾷ, 674). This innovation is all the more remarkable, as Aeschylus' *Suppliants*, performed in 463, presented the traditional version (291–315), where Io is thought of as a cow, having been transformed by Hera (299); but here Io is merely described, and does not appear on stage. The crucial innovation in the *Prometheus Bound* is reflected in the Attic vases from at least the middle of the fifth century onwards. It therefore seems likely that this play was performed after 463, the date of the *Suppliants*, but not long after 460. As B. clearly sees Io as a cow, his dithyramb almost certainly antedates the *Prometheus* and the Attic vases where Io appears in human form. It is not possible to establish a more precise date for Ode 19.

There is, however, an interesting detail in this ode which also appears in the *Prometheus*. In lines 35–6, the Muses are mentioned, apparently in connection with Argos' death. What they did may be inferred from Ovid (*Met.* 1.682–8) and Valerius Flaccus (4.381–90) who both say that Hermes tried to send Argos to sleep by playing a flute or pan-pipes (pan-pipes also played a role in Sophocles' *Inachos*, fr. 269c), and this feature seems to be implied also in Io's frenzied vision in Aesch. *Prom.* 566–75: she sees the dead giant coming towards her and driving her along the sea-shore, and she hears 'a wax-made reed(-pipe) drone its soporific melody' (ὑπὸ δὲ κηρόπλαστος ὀτοβῆϊ δόναξ | ἀχέτας ὑπνοδόταν νόμον, 574–5). This must be Hermes' pan-pipe (*syninx*) 'with which he put Argos to sleep before killing him' (Griffith on Aesch. *Prom.* 574; this had already been suggested by Galiart, *Beiträge zur Mythologie* 142 n.2). In both B. and Aeschylus the allusion to 'music' is so brief that the audience could hardly have gathered what it referred to, unless they knew this part of the story already.

(b) *Epaphos* In this ode, B. gives in a very summary form the genealogy of Dionysos, covering four generations in as many lines. Io was pregnant when she arrived in Egypt. Her son Epaphos became king of Egypt, his daughter Libye (who was apparently not mentioned by B.) became the mother of

Agenor and Belos, Agenor was the father of Kadmos and grandfather of Semele, the mother of Dionysos. Belos' son Danaos returned to Argos with his fifty daughters who will be, as Prometheus announces to Io, 'the fifth generation from him' (ἄπ' αὐτοῦ = Epaphos, counting inclusively, Aesch. *Prom.* 853).



This genealogy agrees with that in Aesch. *Suppl.* 291–324, and with Apollodoros (2.1.4 and 3.1.1).

3. *Metre*

Although the strophe is essentially dactyloepitritic, i.e. a combination of *hemiepes* (– ∼ ∼ – ∼ ∼ –) and *creticus* (– ∼ –), usually in pairs connected by a short 'link'-syllable (– ∼ ∼ – ∼ ∼ –), these verses have three unusual features: (a) all their 'link'-syllables are short (*brevia*, not the usual *ancipitia*), and (b) the paired cretic appears four times in a shortened form, leaving out the last *breve*, so that the rhythm slows down at the end, giving the verse the character of a *clausula* (verses 4, 7, 10, and 16); moreover (c), in the last part of the strophe the rhythm seems to assume an 'aeolic' character, as verses 15, 17 and 18 all start like *glyconics*: (ε) ∼ – ∼ ∼ – ∼ ∼ . . .

Verses of an 'aeolic' character can also be seen in the epode: 2, 10, 11, 12 (?), 14 (?), 15, where, however, the loss of nearly all the verse-ends makes detailed analysis impossible. At any rate, the subtle change in the rhythm

towards the end of the strophe seems to continue into the epode in a kind of ‘sliding transition’.

The metrical, or rather rhythmical, innovations may have corresponded to musical innovations. Unfortunately, very little is known about the musical aspect of fifth-century lyric poetry, so that further speculation would be fruitless. It does, however, seem plausible that B. was fully aware of moving into uncharted territory, as far as metre and music were concerned; the opening lines of the ode, as well as the exhortation ὕφαινε νῦν . . . τι καινόν (8–9) strongly suggest this, as Snell (*Bacchylides* pp. xxxi–xxxii) has pointed out.

1–2 Πάρεστι . . . μελέων: ‘there are countless paths of immortal songs’ for him who has received the ‘gifts of the Muses’ (3–4), i.e. a talent for creating poetry. This is different from the seemingly quite similar phrases used by Pindar in his victory odes, e.g. in *I.* 3/4.19 ἔστι μοι θεῶν ἑκατὶ μυρία παντᾶι κέλευθος . . . ὕμνῳ διώκειν, *I.* 6.22–3 μυρία δ’ ἔργων καλῶν . . . κέλευθοι, *N.* 6.45–6 πλατεῖαι πάντοθεν λογοῖσιν ἐντὶ πρόσσοδοι νᾶσον εὐκλέα τάνδε κοσμεῖν, *I.* 2.33–4 οὐ γὰρ πάγος, οὐδὲ προσάντης ἅ κέλευθος γίνεται, εἴ τις εὐδόξων ἐς ἀνδρῶν ἄγοι τιμὰς Ἑλικωνιάδων and by Bacchylides himself in 5.31–3 and 195–7: these, as Bundy has seen (ii 61–4), are all variations on the theme of ‘ease in praise’ where it is the victory which makes it ‘easy’ for the poet to praise the victor (see on 5.31). In 19.1–4, by contrast, it is not an event that opens up the paths of song but an innate ability which poets have traditionally felt to be beyond their own rational control and therefore due to a divine agent, the Muses, and the paths of song which it opens for them are paths of narrative imagination, or different ways of telling a myth. Both the ‘path’ metaphor (κέλευθος 1 ≈ ὁδόν 13), the verb λαχεῖν (3–4 ≈ 13–14), and the ‘gift’ metaphor (δῶρα 4 ≈ γέρας 14) recur at the end of the introductory section, thus rounding it off neatly. In between comes the invitation to the poet to invent (‘weave’, ὕφαινε 8) ‘something new’ (τι καινόν) for ‘much-loved, blessed Athens’ (9–10).

ἄμβροσίων μελέων: Hesiod speaks of the Muses’ ‘immortal song’ (they go to Mount Olympus ἀμβροσίῃ μολπῇ, *Th.* 69), Theognis 18 of their ‘immortal mouth’; the idea that the song itself, the poet’s creation, can achieve immortality does not seem to occur before Pindar (*P.* 4.299 παγὰν ἀμβροσίων ἐπέων, cf. *I.* 3/4.58 τοῦτο γὰρ ἀθάνατον φωνᾶεν ἔρπει, εἴ τις εὔειπῃ τι ‘if someone praises something’) and B. who calls his victory ode ‘an undying ornament of the Muses’ (ἀθάνατον Μουσᾶν ἄγαλμα 10.11) and their ‘sweet gift’ (γλυκύδωρον ἄγαλμα 5.4).

3–4 ὃς ἂν . . . λάχῃσι: the papyrus has λαχῃσι, but the correct Doric ending of the aorist subjunctive is –ησι, see Schwyzer I 661c. The verb implies that a poet may be ‘awarded’ the Muses’ or the Graces’ gift, cf. B.1.151 εὔδ’ ἐλαχῶν Χαρίτων and *PMG* 1001 κείνον . . . ἰοπλοκάμων Μοισᾶν εὔλαχῃν. Hesiod was the first Greek poet who defined the relationship between the poet and the Muses as one of beneficiary and benefactors, and poetic talent as their ‘holy gift for men’ (ἱερὴ δόσις ἀνθρώποισιν, *Th.* 93) whom they ‘honour’ and ‘love’ (*Th.* 81 and 97), and this idea was repeated in many variations by later poets from Archilochos (fr. 1.2) and Alkman (*PMG* 59b = 149 Calame) onwards.

5–7 ἰοβλέφαροι . . . βάλωσιν: ‘the violet-eyed maidens, the garland-bearing Graces’ etc. is still part of the conditional relative clause beginning with ὃς ἂν (3), from which one has to supply ‘for whom’ (ὧι ἂν). Examples of sentences with different subjects, joined by τε, are not uncommon in Homer, e.g. *Il.* 15.680–3, cf. Ruijgh, *TE épique* § 637; K-G II 242; Schwyzer II 574; Pindaric examples have been collected by Braswell on *P.* 4.222c who rightly observes that ‘a single τε is used to join a clause or sentence which explains or indicates a consequence of what has just been mentioned’. His observation applies here, too: ‘whoever has been awarded the Muses’ gifts, and <so> the Graces bestow honour on his songs’. As their name suggests, they give ‘grace’ (χάρις), the pleasing form which delights the audience. This is why they ‘bring garlands’ (φερεστέφαροι 6): the formal beauty of the ode, the elegance of its diction, style, and structure, will win a prize in the competition of dithyrambs. But they do not *inspire* the song – that is the Muses’ prerogative. The distinction is kept up fairly consistently in early poetry and in Pindar, see Verdenius, *Commentaries* I 103–6. Pindar, *O.* 1.30–1 clearly relates Χάρις to the formal aspect of poetry, not to its content: Χάρις δ’, ἅπερ ἅπαντα τεύχει τὰ μέλιχα θνατοῖς, ἐπιφέρεισα τιμὰν (sc. to the words, μύθοις) καὶ ἄπιστον ἐμήσατο πιστὸν ἔμμεναι – even what is unlikely or unbelievable (like Pindar’s version of the Pelops myth which he is about to tell) can convince people through the elegance of its form.

8 ὕφαινέ νυν: the enclitic νυν is found only here in B., but frequently in Pindar. On the etymology which links ὕμνος with ὑφαίνειν see on 5.9–10. The *asyndeton* makes it clear that the imperative, addressed by the chorus to the poet (see below on 11), results from the preceding sentence: ‘The gifted poet has many ways of telling a story – so weave now something new . . .’ It also serves a formal purpose in that it links the two halves of the introductory section together, of which 1–8 is a general statement,

which is then (from the asyndetic ὕφαινε 8 to 14) applied to the present celebration.

8–10 ἐν ταῖς πολυηράτοις . . . ὀλβίαις Ἀθάναις: both epithets seem to have been regular components in praises of Athens, cf. Solon 4.21; Ar. *Clouds* 299–301; Pindar, fr.76. The tragedians, in particular, flatter their audiences with praise of Athens' wealth and splendour: Eur. *Med.* 824–32, *Tro.* 803, *IT* 1130–1, *Alc.* 452 λιπαραῖσι τ' ἐν ὀλβίαις Ἀθάναις, Soph. *OC* 707–19; see also on 18.2.

καίνόν: this was the original reading of the papyrus, which the corrector, **A**³, changed to κλεινόν. This is surely wrong, because τι κλεινόν 'something famous' could only mean, proleptically, 'something that is to become famous', which would hardly make sense here, whereas τι καινόν 'something novel' would appear to have been announced in the opening line. What B. means by this is likely to relate to some formal aspect of this ode, perhaps its metre, see above, pp. 209–10;. Like B. here, Pindar often emphasizes that he is offering something new, see *N.* 8.20–1; *O.* 3.4–6; *O.* 9.49; *I.* 5.62–3; cf. the parody in the *parabasis* of Aristophanes' *Wasps* 1051–6. **11** εὐαίνετε Κηῖα μέριμνα 'renowned Kean mind'. As Kuiper (1928: 57) has pointed out, the audience must have understood this as an address to the poet by the chorus, who pay him a nice compliment: he is 'well-praised' (on εὐαίνετος, see Braswell on Pind. *P.* 4.177(a) εὐαίνητος Ὀρφεύς). Ultimately it is, of course, a self-address by the poet, the 'nightingale of Keos' (3.97–8n.). In B. and Pindar, μέριμνα is a thought which is focussed on an objective, or 'purposeful planning', see 11.85–6n.

12–14 πρέπει σε . . . γέρας: *asyndeton* again (see on 8), this time capping the whole introductory section and echoing its opening lines. The general statement 'whoever has received the Muses' gifts' in the conditional relative clause (3–8) is here applied to specific persons: Μουσᾶν (4) is answered by Καλλιόπας (13), δς ἄν . . . λάχῃσι (3) by Κηῖα μέριμνα (11), the poet himself. The point at which the focus switches from the general to the specific is the mention of Athens (9–10). The city where this dithyramb is being performed thus becomes the recipient of praise, rather like the victor in a victory ode. The superlative φερτάταν . . . ὀδόν, as well as ἕξοχον γέρας, suggests that the poet (Κηῖα μέριμνα), having been granted (λαχοῖσαν, cf. Alkaios 309) an 'outstanding gift' by the Muse, is about to produce a superb poem.

14 γέρας: not 'the glorious theme (Io)', as Jebb thought, but the gift of poetry (δῶρα Μουσᾶν 4).

15 †τινην†: TIHN in the papyrus could be interpreted as (a) τί ἦν . . . ὅθ(ε) ‘how was it when . . .’, or (b) ‘what was Io when she . . .’, or (c) τί; ἦν . . . ὅθ(ε) ‘what? It happened that . . .’ Both (a) and (b) would be a question extending to κόρα (18), answered from 19 onwards; (c) is unlikely because isolated interrogative τί, while not uncommon in prose, is not found in poetry, and ἦν ὅτε ‘once upon a time’ is not separated, except sometimes by a particle (ἦν δὲ ὅτε Xen. *Hell.* 4.7.6). (b) is unlikely because the interrogative τί and its subject (βοῦς 16 and κόρα 18) would be too far apart, and the question ‘what was she . . .?’ would already have been answered by βοῦς. With (a), 15–18 would become another question addressed by the chorus to the poet, like τίς πρῶτος . . . in 15.47; this is possible, although it would be colloquial and prosaic: cf. Herodas 5.10 τί ἔστι; *Mime* fr. 7.28 and 66 τί γέγονεν; (pp.49–51 Cunningham); Kall. *Epigr.* 13.3 ὦ Χαρίδα, τί τὰ νέρθε; “πολὺς σκότος.” αἱ δ’ ἄνοδοι τί; Plato, *Phd.* 58a τί οὖν ἦν τοῦτο; *Symp.* 213b τουτί τί ἦν; The main objection is the metre, which requires – , responding to Ἄργον 33 (this is the only case in this ode where strophe and antistrophe do not correspond). Conjecture, therefore, seems to be required to restore metre and sense, taking into account that the papyrus punctuates after γέρας (14). Kenyon’s ἦν ποτ’ (with <τ>ότ’ in 19) deserves consideration: “‘there was a time when . . .’, an abrupt beginning of which B. is quite capable’ (Kenyon 187), which would be paralleled by Pindar, fr. 83 ἦν ὅτε σύας Βοιωτίων ἔθνος ἔνεπον, although ἦν χρόνος is more common in poetry: ἦν χρόνος ὅτ’ ἦν ἄτακτος ἀνθρώπων βίος Kritias, *TrGF* 1 43 F 19.1, ἦν χρόνος ἀνικ’ ἐγώ . . . Theokr. 7.1. Alternatively, one could think of the affirmative ἦ, which often begins a sentence in B. (5.9; 9.36; 13.54 ἦ ποτέ φامي κτλ., referring to the future; 18.41) and Pindar (*O.*1.28; *P.*1.47; *N.*8.24): ‘Indeed, once, when the golden heifer . . .’, see below on 16.

15–16 λιποῦσα φεύγει: ‘having left Argos, she was in flight’ – from whom? In Aesch. *Prom.* 663–72, Io reports how her father Inachos had received oracles telling him to push her out of his house and the land (ἔξω δόμων τε καὶ πάτρας ὥθειν ἐμέ 665), against his will, forced by Zeus (ἐπηνάγκαζέ νιν | Διὸς χαλῖνος πρὸς βίαν πρᾶσσειν τάδε, 671–2). She then runs to the meadows of Lerna, where her encounter with Zeus takes place (this is suggested by lines 649–54: Io’s dreams, and the oracle given to her father, send her to a place where Zeus can meet her), even though the watchful giant Argos was guarding her πυκνοῖς ὄσσοις δεδορκώς (678–9) – he is here imagined as he appears on many fifth-century vases, with eyes all over his body (see p. 207). She then alludes very briefly to his death

(ἀπροσδόκητως δ' αἰφνίδιος αὐτὸν μόρος | τοῦ ζῆν ἀπεστέρησεν, 690–1), as if she had not witnessed the killing, or as if she were too distraught to tell the details.

This sequence of events is assumed also in B. who adds that it was Hera who instructed Argos to watch Io (19–25); he also gives a more detailed account of how Argos was killed (see below on 29–36).

χρυσέα βοῦς: the cow is white on some of the vases and in Apollod. 2.1.3. In poetry, 'golden' is sometimes said of gods (Nika in Pindar, *I.* 2.26; Kypris in B. 5.174; Artemis in B. 11.117), more often of what belongs to gods, such as Poseidon's horses in Pindar, *O.* 1.41, or comes from the gods, such as the 'cargo-ship of songs' in B.16.2. Gold neither rusts nor rots, hence its significance as a symbol of eternity. This explains phrases like B.10.40 (the wise man) ἐλπίδι χρυσέαι τέθαλεν 'blossoms in golden hope' because he hopes to win immortal fame, and Pindar, *O.* 11.13 ἐπὶ στεφάνῳ χρυσέας ἐλαίας 'on account of the golden olive wreath' which was the victor's prize at Olympia, which will immortalize his victory (see Verdenius, *Commentaries* II 135 on *I.* 2.26). Here, the 'golden' cow may mean that she has become a divine possession, as Zeus had to hand her over to Hera (Apollod. 2.1.3).

17 εὐρυσθενέος . . . Διός: in Homer, this is Poseidon's epithet (*Il.* 7.455; *Od.* 20.140). B. uses several compounds beginning with εὐρυ–, cf. 3.6n. See also on 18 below.

φραδαῖσι 'instructions', cf. φράζειν 'to show the way', 'to advise'. These are the dreams and oracles through which Zeus forced Inachos to drive his daughter out of Argos, for as long as she was a priestess in the precinct of Hera, Zeus could not have approached her without being noticed by Hera. In Ovid, *Met.* 1.597, Jupiter plunges the region into darkness to stop Io's flight (*caligine terras | occuluit tenuitque fugam rapuitque pudorem*, 599–600).

18 ῥοδοδάκτυλος κόρα: with cruel irony, B. gives this epithet to the unfortunate girl whose 'rosy fingers' have just been turned into hard hooves. The sharp contrast between 'wide-powered Zeus' and the 'rose-fingered' girl maximizes the emotional potential of this scene.

19–20 <τ>ότ': with Kenyon's correction of OT in the papyrus, the structure is clear: while Io was 'in flight' (φεῦγε), Hera 'instructed' (κέλευσεν) Argos to guard her; this means that 15–25 are one long sentence which the two correlative temporal adverbs divide into two unequal halves. Maas (*Resp.* II 30) explains the difficulty with the text as transmitted: ὅτ(ε) . . .

κέλευσεν could not possibly pick up the first ὅτε (15 ὅθ' . . . φεύγε) because of the difference in the tenses of the verbs.

ὄμμασι . . . ἀκαμάτοις: as πάντοθεν suggests, B. imagines Argos as having eyes all over his body, as he is shown on many vases, in accordance also with Aeschylus, *Supp.* 304 (πανόπτης) and *Prom.* 568 (μυριωπός) and 678–9 (πυκνοῖς ὄσσοις δεδορκώς).

23 ἄκοιτον ἄπνυν: asyndetic pairs of epithets, usually with alliteration, are found in poetry from Homer onwards, cf. *Il.* 1.99 ἀπριάτην ἀνάποινον, *Od.* 15.406 εὐβοτος εὐμηλος, *Soph. Ant.* 339 Γᾶν ἄφθιτον ἀκαμάταν, also in triplets: *Il.* 9.63 ἀφρήτωρ ἀθέμιστος ἀνέστιος, and without alliteration: Ibykos, *PMG* 287.1 ἔρεμνός ἀθαμβής, although the combination of asyndeton with alliteration was apparently felt to be particularly powerful. This is essentially a rhetorical device (a means to focus the audience's attention), even though it was not used particularly frequently in Attic oratory; examples include *Dem.* 4.36 ἐν δὲ τοῖς περὶ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῇι τούτου παρασκευῇ ἄτακτα ἀδιόρθωτα ἄορίσθ' ἅπαντα, also 25.52 ἄσπειστος ἀνίδρυτος ἄμεικτος, *Xen. Cyr.* 7.5.53 ἄσιτος καὶ ἄποτος, see also Richardson on *h.Dem.* 200. Pindar and B. use this device much more sparingly than Homer and the tragedians do; Pindar calls Hektor Τροίας ἄμαχον ἀστραβῇ κίονα *O.* 2.82, B. (?) has ἀκρίτοις ἀλ[άστοις] ὑπὸ πένθεσιν fr. 60.10–11.

24 καλλικέραν δάμαλιν: the 'lovely-horned heifer'; B. imagines her as a cow, as does Aesch. *Supp.* 299–314. It was her appearance on stage in *Prom.* 561–886 that changed her iconography; see pp. 207–8.

25–7 οὐδὲ Μαίας υἱὸς δύναντ' . . . λαθεῖν νιν: this implies that Hermes had been commissioned by Zeus to steal the cow; it was only when he discovered that this was impossible that he killed Argos (Apollod. 2.1.3 and schol. *A* on *Il.* 2.103). B. seems to imply that all his eyes were always awake; the idea that half of them sleep while the other half stay awake is first found in Eur. *Phoen.* 1116–17, where a figure of Argos ('Panoptes') on the shield of Hippomedon is described.

29–36 εἴτ' οὖν . . . ἢ . . . : for this kind of disjunctive 'whether . . . or . . .' (εἴτε . . . ἢ) cf. Eur. *IT* 272–3 εἴτ' οὖν ἐπ' ἀκταῖς θάσσετον Διοσκώρω | ἢ Νηρέως ἀγάλασθ'. By offering alternative speculative explanations of Argos' death, the dithyrambic chorus in B. seems to adopt the attitude of ignorance often displayed by choruses in tragedy: cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 141–60 (speculation about the possible causes of Phaidra's suffering), *Soph. Aias*

172–81 (about the possible causes of Aias' madness), *OT* 1098–1109 (about who Oedipus' parents might be).

29–31 εἴτ' οὖν γένητ' . . . ἄγγελος[ν Διὸς] κτανεῖν 'whether it came about that . . . Zeus' messenger killed'; this construction, impersonal γίνεται with acc. + inf., is rare in poetry; cf. Archil. 118; Aesch. *Ag.* 34–5 γένοιτο . . . χέρα . . . βαστάσαι and the anonymous trimeter, possibly from Euripides' *Meleagros*, *TrGF* II 188 ὦ Ζεῦ, γένοιτο καταβαλεῖν τὸν σὺν ἐμέ. It is quite common in hellenistic and later prose, e.g. in the New Testament (Luke 3.21 ἐγένετο ἀνέωιχθῆναι τὸν οὐρανόν, also 6.1 and 16.22; Mark 2.33; Acts 4.5, etc.).

ξ [~ ~ ~ ~ ~ : Jebb assumed a contrast between 'by an open attack' and 'by assault on the sleeping Argos', and accordingly suggested ξ[ν μάχας ἀγῶνι or ξ[ς χέρας μολόντα (but the latter, at least, would hardly be compatible with λ[ίθωι 32). Equally possible might be an indication of the locality: ξ[ν βοῶν νομαῖσι? It happened 'on the grassy meadows of Lerna' where Inachos kept his herds and where the dream had ordered Io to go: ἐξελθε πρὸς Λέρνης βαθύν | λειμῶνα, ποίμνας βουστάσεις τε πρὸς πατρός, Aesch. *Prom.* 652–3.

31–2 [Γᾶς . . .] ὀβριμοσπόρου 'Earth of mighty offspring' (the compound is found only here). Aeschylus calls Argos παῖδα Γῆς (*Supp.* 305) and γηγενῆ (*Prom.* 677), following Akusilaos (*FGH Hist* II F 27, quoted in Apollod. 2.1.3).

λ[ίθωι: the question is not whether Hermes killed him but *how* he killed him, therefore κτανεῖν (31) needs to be specified; λ[ίθωι is supported not only by Apollod. 2.1.3 (= schol. A on *Il.* 2.103) λίθωι βαλὼν ἀπέκτεινε τὸν Ἄργον, but also by the black-figure amphora in Munich (above, p. 206) which shows Hermes approaching unarmed, trying to steal the cow and reaching out (for a stone) in case the giant discovers him.

33–4 ἢ ῥα καὶ ϑ[]: Jebb preferred ἢ ῥα because he took this to be another alternative, 'or whether Argos was exhausted by his anxieties'. This cannot be right because (a) μέριμναι are here not 'anxieties' (see below on 34–5), and (b) the papyrus has ἩΡΑ: the circumflex makes it clear that the affirmative ἦ is meant, which often begins a phrase or a sentence in B. and Pindar (see above on 15); ἦ + ῥα (= ἄρα) is very frequent in Homer (*Il.* 3.183; 4.82, etc.).

ἦ ῥα . . . μέριμν[αι: with ἦ ῥα, this must be an emphatic statement, the subject of which is μέριμναι. μέριμνα is 'planning', or 'thought directed towards a purpose', see on 11.85–6. This meaning is illustrated, e.g., by

Empedokles 11.1 νήπιοι, οὐ γάρ σφιν δολιχόφρονές εἰσι μέριμναι ‘fools: their thoughts do not go far’, and Aristophanes’ *Clouds* 1404 where Pheidippides says ‘Having been trained by Socrates’, γνώμαις δὲ λεπταῖς καὶ λόγοις ξύνειμι καὶ μερίμναις ‘I am familiar with subtle ideas and arguments and thoughts’, cf. also B. 5.7. It follows that μέριμναι here cannot be those of Argos, for he had κάδεα (36), he had to ‘care’ (κήδεσθαι) for the cow; they must be the ‘thoughts’ or ‘plans’ of Hermes, or the gods in general, whose ‘designs’ are ‘inscrutable’. Along these lines, one could try something like ἦ ῥα καὶ οἱ κτῆρὰ θεῶν τελοῦσιν] ἄσπετοι μερίμναι, ‘indeed, pitiable things the gods’ inscrutable designs achieve’, a comment on the preceding sentence.

35–6 ἡ Πιερίδες . . . ἀνάπαυσ[ιν – ~ ~ : the alternative to εἶτ’ οὖν (29). Ovid, *Met.* 1.682–721 tells how Hermes eventually succeeded, by playing his pan-pipes and telling a long-winded story, to put all of Argos’ eyes to sleep (cf. also Valerius Flaccus 4.381–90). This may be based on Soph. *Inachos*, fr. 269c.4, where Hermes’ pan-pipes (σύριγγες) seem to have played a role. The Muses (Πιερίδες) provide music, or a story, or both, which sends Argos to sleep (as Ovid says); see above, p. 208. If this is meant by κάδεων ἀνάπαυσ[ιν, Argos’ ‘rest’ was deadly, and something like αἰμύλωι μέλει is needed in 35 to indicate how the Muses achieved (φύτευ[σαν ‘planted’, ‘engendered’) his fatal repose: ἀνάπαυσ[ιν ἐσχάταν would bring out the grim irony.

37–8 ἐμοὶ . . . ἀσφαλέστατον ἄπρ[(or ἄπρ[ε] : ἀσφαλέστατον makes it almost inevitable to supply an infinitive at the end of the verse. Then ἄ in ἄπρ[might be neut.pl., i.e. the object of that infinitive: ἄ πρ[ε] [πεί λέγειν would refer back to the end of the introductory section. There the chorus told the poet to take the right route (12–13 πρέπει σε φερτάταν ἴμεν ὁδόν), here the poet says ‘whatever the way in which Argos was killed, for me, at any rate (μὲν οὖν), it is safest to say the appropriate things’, thus paving the way for the rapid account of Io’s descendants from Epaphos to Dionysos. It could certainly be said to be ‘appropriate’: B. 19 is, in fact, the only one of B.’s extant dithyrambs to show a direct connection with Dionysos.

39–40 παρ’ ἀνθεμῶ[δεα] Νεῖλον: Io, pregnant and tormented by the gadfly sent by Hera after the killing of Argos, gives birth to Epaphos on the ‘flowery’ bank of the Nile. On the significance of flowers in erotic contexts see on 16.34.

40–1 οἱ στροπλᾶξ: cf. Aesch. *Prom.* 681 οἱ στροπλῆξ δ’ ἐγὼ μάστιγι θεαίαι, 589 τῆς οἱ στροδινήτου κόρης, *Supp.* 17 τῆς οἱ στροδόνου βοός and

573 οἰστροδόνητον ἰώ. In 41 Jebb supplied γαστρί τὸν Διός because (a) φέρουσα παῖδ[α alone would not make it clear that the child was still unborn when she arrived in Egypt, and (b) it had to be said that Zeus was the father. For γαστρί, Jebb quoted *Il.* 6.58–9 μηδ' ὄντινα γαστέρι μήτηρ . . . φέροι and Plato, *Laws* 792e τὰς φερούσας ἐν γαστρί. Another possibility would be παῖδ' [ὑποκόλπιον Διός], cf. Kall. *H.* 4.86.

42–4 As the metre of the epode cannot be established, there is no point in proposing exact supplements; something like ἐνθα νι[ν τέκ' Αἰγυπτίων . . . πρύτ[ανιν will not be too far from what B. wrote.

43 λινοστόλῳ ‘linen-robed’; from at least the time of Herodotos (2.37 and 81), Greek authors saw linen clothing as a typical feature of Egyptian life. The hellenistic *Isis hymn of Andros* (*IG* xii 5.739, republished with commentary by Peek, *Isis-Hymnus*) calls Isis Αἰγύπτου βασίλεια λινόστολε, cf. *AP* 6.231 λινόπεπλε δαῖμον, and Plutarch (*De Iside* 4 = *Mor.* 352c–e) explains that Egyptian priests shave all their body hair off because they consider all hair an impure excretion of the body, so they refuse to wear woollen clothes, accepting only linen ones because linen, i.e. flax, grows from the ‘immortal earth’ and makes light and pure garments. Cf. Pliny, *HN.* 19.14 *Aegyptio lino minimum firmitatis, plurimum lucri . . . uestes inde sacerdotibus Aegypti gratissimae* and Juvenal 6.533 *grege linigero*.

44 ὑπερόχῳ βρύοντ[α τιμαῖ ‘basking in outstanding honour’. βρύειν is frequent in B. (3.15–16; 6.9; 13.179; 29g.1); it also occurs in Simonides (*PMG* 519 fr. 77.5) and Likymnios (*PMG* 770a) but not in Pindar.

45 μεγίσταν τε θνατ[. . . : Jebb’s supplement θνατ[ῶν ἔφανεν γενέθλαν would refer to the offspring of Epaphos’ daughter Libye, i.e. Belos and Agenor, cf. Aesch. *Supp.* 317–9 and Apollod. 2.1.4. Bacchylides seems to have disregarded Libye; Agenor appears only in the patronymic to Kadmos (46), which takes him very rapidly to Semele and the birth of Dionysos.

49 ὀρσιβάκχα[v: found nowhere else, as are other compounds of this type (ὀρσίμαχος 15.3, ὀρσίαλος 16.19). Jebb quotes the anonymous verses εὔιον ὀρσιγύναικα μαινομέναις Διόνυσον ἀνθέοντα τιμαῖς *PMG* 1003, which Plutarch quotes three times (*Mor.* 389b, 607bc, 671c).

50–1 Dionysos is ‘Lord of splendid festivals’ (or ‘competitions’) ‘and garland-wearing choirs’, with supplements by Jurenka (ἀγλαῶν τε κώμων) and Wilamowitz (στεφαν[αφόρων ἀνακτα); West (1993: 237) suggested ἀγλαῶν ἀγώνων. At the end of this dithyramb the narrative converges with the reality of the performance, the Dionysiac festival.

ODE 20 = DITHYRAMB 6

1. *Performance*

The title Ἰδᾶς Λακεδαιμονίῳς, preserved in the papyrus, implies that this ode must have contained some clear indication that it was performed at Sparta, or at any rate in Laconia. As it begins with a reference to ‘such a song’ (τοιόνδε μέλος 3) as was ‘once’ (ποτε) sung by Spartan maidens at the wedding of Idas and Marpessa, it seems likely that it was performed by a girls’ chorus; cf. Theokr. 18 (with Hunter, *Theocritus* 151). Choirs of girls are associated with festivals of Artemis, e.g. of Orthia at Sparta (on which see Calame, *Les chœurs de jeunes filles* 1276–97) which was connected with the story of the abduction of Helen, either by Theseus and Peirithoos when she was dancing (χορεύουσιν) at the sanctuary of Artemis, or by Idas and Lynkeus, as Plutarch (*Theb.* 31) reports, quoting Hellanikos (*FGrHist* 323a F 18; the abduction of Helen by Theseus and Peirithoos was also represented on the ‘Throne of Amyklai’ which Pausanias describes, 3.18.15). There were other sanctuaries and festivals of Artemis in Spartan territory where choruses of Spartan girls played a part. On the border between Laconia and Messenia, on the west side of the Taygetos mountain ridge, was a sanctuary of Artemis Limnatis where Spartan girls were said to have been abducted by the Messenians (Paus. 4.4.2). Pausanias tells two versions of this story, a Spartan one which has the girls raped by the Messenians (which led to the first Messenian war, according to Strabo 8.4.9), and a Messenian one which claimed that the ‘girls’ were in fact young (beardless) Spartans disguised as girls and armed with daggers; they had been smuggled into a reunion of Messenian nobles whom they were to murder, but they were discovered and killed (see also Calame, *Les chœurs* 1253–64).

A similar abduction story was connected with the annual festival of Artemis Karyatis at Karyai in the mountains north of Sparta which divide Laconia from Arcadia, where Spartan girls danced and performed choral songs (Paus. 3.10.7). During one of these festivals Aristomenes, the Messenian freedom fighter during the decade 500–490 BCE, ambushed the Spartan girls who had been dancing there, and took away the daughters of the wealthiest and most respected Spartans (Paus. 4.16.9). As the myth of Idas, Euenos and Marpessa which B. tells in this ode was a similar abduction story, it may well have been composed to be performed by a Spartan girls’ chorus at one of these festivals of Artemis. The evidence for Spartan cult dances has been collected and discussed by Constantinidou 1998.

2. *The myth.*

(a) *Idas, Euenos and Marpessa* Marpessa, daughter of Euenos and Demonike or Demodike (Apollod. 1.7.7–8), or Euenos and Alkippe, daughter of Oinomaos, according to [Plut.] *Parallela minora* 40a (*Mor.* 315e), was guarded by her father at Ortygia near Chalkis in Aetolia (on the gulf of Kalydon, opposite Patras); he challenged her suitors to a chariot race, defeated them all and nailed their skulls to the front of his house (schol. B^b on *Il.* 9.557). This motif, an obvious parallel to the story of Oinomaos, his daughter Hippodameia and Pelops, is explicitly attested for B. by schol. Pind. *I.4.92a* Βακχυλίδης δὲ Εὐήνων ἐπὶ τῶν Μαρπήσσης μνηστήρων (sc. τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἴστορεῖ) – presumably in this ode, not in fr. 20A. The scholia to Pindar seem to have had no older evidence for this story.

Idas, however, a son of Aphareus, came on a chariot with extremely swift horses, which he had received from his divine father Poseidon, and – without taking part in the murderous race against Euenos – abducted Marpessa when she was dancing at a festival celebrating Artemis (χορεύουσιν ἐν Ἀρτέμιδος schol. B^b on *Il.* 9.557; ἐκ χοροῦ [Plut.] *Mor.* 315e). From Chalkis he drove west towards Pleuron, crossing the river Lykormas with his winged horses (Apollod. 1.7.8 speaks of his ἄρμα ὑπόπτερον). The pursuing Euenos, unable to cross, slaughtered his horses and threw himself into the river, which was then named after him.

(b) *Idas and Apollo* After driving westwards to Pleuron, Idas and Marpessa must have somehow turned east or south-east again and crossed the gulf of Kalydon, because they then reached Arene in Triphylia or Messenia. This strange detour seems to suggest that at this point two different versions may have been linked together which originally had nothing to do with each other, i.e. an Aetolian one (the Euenos story, with the abduction of Marpessa), and a Messenian one (Idas and Lynkeus) which was later transferred to Sparta (Ἴδας . . . Λακεδαιμόνιος δὲ τὸ γένος, schol. BT on *Il.* 9.557). In Messenia, Apollo confronts Idas and tries to take Marpessa from him; when Idas boldly raises his bow against the god, Zeus intervenes: he sends Hermes with the instruction to let the girl herself choose; she chose Idas, for fear that Apollo would abandon her once she had grown old.

This part of the Idas-Marpessa story was told by Simonides (*PMG* 563). It seems likely that its most dramatic episode, the confrontation between Idas and Apollo, was also told by B.: it was told by Homer, *Il.* 9.558–60,

and it was depicted on the ‘Chest of Kypselos’, according to Pausanias, who quotes two hexameters, 5.18.2; it appears on several Attic red-figure vases, such as a *psykter* in Munich dated c.480–470 (Munich 2417, Appendix no. 38), on a *stamnos* divided between Paris and Florence dated c.470–450 (Appendix no. 39), and an amphora in London of c. 450 BCE (BM 95.10–31.1; Appendix no. 40). These vases may reflect an Athenian performance of Simonides’ poem.

1 Σπάρται . . . ἐν ἐ[ὐρυχόρῳ]: the supplement is based on *Od.* 13.414; 15.1; Pindar, *N.* 10.52; *AP* 7.301.2 (Simonides); Hdt. 7.120.4 etc.

2–3 ξανθαὶ Λακεδα[ιμονίων] | τοιόνδε μέλος κ[ελάδησαν παρθένοι] ? Alternatively, one could try ξανθαὶ Λακεδα[ιμονίων κλεινῶν θύγατρεις] | τοιόνδε μέλος κ[ελάδησαν, but if lines 1–3 respond, as seems likely, with 9–11, the first option may be preferable. For Spartan girls, blonde hair seems to have been particularly desirable, as Alkman refers to it three times (*PMG* 1.101; 3.9; 59b.3); they ‘once sang such a song at Sparta’, when Idas brought (ἄγετο) Marpessa as his bride. This would have been a wedding song, and B. seems to follow here a pattern established for wedding songs or *hymenaios*, as the similarity with the wedding song of Basileia and Peisetairos in Aristophanes’ *Birds* 1731–42 and with the beginning of Theokritos’ ‘Ἐλένης ἐπιθαλάμιος (18) indicates. This does not necessarily mean that B.20 is itself a wedding song; rather, it may be a case like B.16, which begins with a reference to paeans sung by a Delphic chorus, although the ode as a whole seems to be a dithyramb.

6 Μάρπησσαν ἰότ[ριχα νύμφαν]? The compound, ‘violet-haired’, ought to begin with digamma (F), but B. apparently ignored it here since the last syllable of Μάρπησσαν is not lengthened. F is also disregarded in δόσαν ἰόπλοκοι 17.37 (~~~~~), but wrongly assumed in εἶλετο ἰόν (= Fἰόν) in 5.75: B. was evidently unsure about its etymologically correct use.

7–8 φυγῶν . . . Ποσ(ε)ιδάν: with Poseidon as a new subject we would have two subjects and therefore either (a) two main clauses, e.g. τ[έλος] τῶι γὰρ ὅπασσεν (or πόρεν), or τὸν γὰρ φύλαξεν, or (b) a conjunction like εὔτε, ὅτε, ἐπεί: after the almost inevitable τ[έλος], any word beginning with vowel and a long syllable would fit easily into a dactylo-epitritic verse, so one could try, *exempli gratia*:

φυγῶν θανάτου τ[έλος] εὖθ’ ὑπόπτερον
ἀναξίalos Ποσ<ε>ιδάν ἄρμ’ ὅπασσεν κτλ.

There is, however, a difficulty in the restoration Ποσ<ε>ι[δάν. The sequence ~~~~~ cannot easily be fitted into dactylo-epitrites, which would normally require ~- after ~~~~. Although ποσι[as transmitted in the papyrus, seems to be the start of the god's name, it is always Ποσειδάων, Attic Ποσειδῶν, Doric Ποσειδάν, Ποτειδάν, Ποιοιδᾶν etc., never Ποσιδάν. A possible solution is that line 8 could be the last verse of the strophe: it might be a kind of 'clausula' ending in ~- (instead of ~~-), like the last line of the strophe in Ibykos, *PMG* 282 (~~~~~-). On this assumption one could perhaps suggest

φυγῶν θανάτου τ[έλος, ἄρμ' ἐπεὶ πόρεν ~~~~~~ |
 ἀναξίαλος Ποσ<ε>ι[δάν. ~~~~~~ |||

9–10 ἵππους . . . ἐὔκτ[ιμέναν, perhaps followed by σεύοντι· τὸν δέ 'and wind-swift horses, as he was speeding towards Pleuron, the well-built city. But him . . .'

11 χρυσάσπιδος υἱὸ[ν Ἄρης: the 'one with golden shield' can, in this context, only be Ares, the father of Euenos. What followed was probably, if Euenos was in the accusative, something like 'frustration [or rage] seized [Euenos] when he saw . . .' etc.

FRAGMENTS

FRAGMENTS 22 + 4 = PAIAN FOR ASINE

1. *Text and performance*

Parts of this paean are quoted in anthologies: Athen. 5.5 p.178b (= fr. 22), Plut. *Numa* 20.6 and Stob. 4.14.3 Βακχυλίδου παιάνων (= fr. 4); the first ten lines of the passage in Stobaios overlap the last ten lines of P. Oxy. 426 (pap. **T**), as Snell (1932) saw. The lines quoted by Athenaios were identified as the first five lines of an epode by Barrett (1954) who established the metrical pattern as a triad of ten + ten + ten lines. His interpretation has greatly enhanced the understanding of this interesting ode, the only one of Bacchylides' paeans of which substantial parts survive. Barrett saw that the ninth line of the papyrus (Ιφαινεῖς) must be Ιφ' Ἀσινεῖς (= now line 47), and that these 'people of Asine' in the Argolid must be the mythical Dryopes who had been settled there by Herakles at Apollo's request, as Pausanias tells us (4.34.9); see Strid, *Dryoper*.

The sanctuary at Asine, c.8 km south-east of Nauplia, was that of Apollo Pythaieus, of which Pausanias saw the ruins (2.36.4–5); he mentions that the town of Asine had been destroyed and its population resettled in Messenia on the gulf of Kalamata by the Argives in the eighth century, but that the temple had been spared. Archaeological evidence (see Frödin & Persson, *Asine*) 'suggests that after the destruction of Asine the sanctuary of Apollo Pythaieus continued in use as a centre of Apolline worship in the neighbourhood, embracing at any rate the towns of Argos and Epidauros. If therefore our ode appears on internal evidence to have been performed there in the first half of the fifth century BCE, we have no reason to doubt that in fact it was; and the ode will in fact become a further piece of evidence for the continuance of the cult' (Barrett 1954: 429).

Papyrus **T** preserves, on the back of a documentary text, 32 lines with part of the upper margin. If, as seems likely, it contained only this paean (not the whole book of paeans), the first line of the verso, which is the ninth verse of a strophe, may have been preceded either by one column of 38 lines, or by two columns of 34 lines each. On the first assumption, 13 lines would be lost between fr. 22 (= lines 21–5) and the first line of the papyrus text (= line 39); alternatively, the gap would be 43 lines long. The assumption of

a shorter gap seems more probable because it would not take more than 13 lines to tell how Herakles was received by Keyx, then defeated the Dryopes and brought them to Delphi as an 'offering' (ἀνάθημα) to Apollo, as Paus. 4.34.9 says (see below).

2. *The myth*

The Asinaians, Pausanias informs us (4.34.9), originally dwelt in the Parnassos region where they were known as Dryopes. Herakles defeated them in battle and took them to Delphi, but Apollo's oracle instructed him to lead them to the Peloponnese, where they settled at Asine in the Argolid, as well as at Hermione, Halieis and other places; 'it is a reasonable assumption that the whole coast from Asine to Hermione was Dryopian' (Barrett 1954: 427).

Different reasons are given for their fight with Herakles. Diodoros (4.37.1) makes Herakles punish them for an offence against the Delphic sanctuary, whereas both Apollod. 2.7.7 and the scholiast on Ap. Rhod. 1.1213 say that Herakles took from a Dryopian, Theiodamas, one of his two bulls and slaughtered it because he (or his little son, Hyllos) was hungry and could find nothing else to eat, whereupon Theiodamas led the Dryopes into battle against him (according to Apollodoros, Herakles does not fight the Dryopes immediately after his encounter with Theiodamas, but continues his journey to Trachis where he is received by Keyx). The Dryopes seem to have had a bad reputation as bandits, because Herakles was said to have removed the whole tribe 'because of their banditry' (διὰ τὴν ληιστείαν, schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.1213, cf. Pherekydes, *FGrHist* 3 F 19), and given that this instruction came from Apollo, one may suspect that their main occupation had been to rob travellers approaching Delphi by land, rather like the Krisaians did to those coming by sea in the Sacred War of c.590 BCE; see Barrett 1954: 440, who quotes the hypotheses *a* and *b* to Pindar's *Pythians* (schol. Pind. 11 pp.2–3 Drachm.).

This charge is likely to be an Argive fabrication (Barrett 1954: 440), which may have exploited the 'etymology' of their name, Ἀσινεῖς (= 'the innocuous ones'), which implies that prior to their transplantation, the Dryopes had caused much damage. B. may have referred to this interpretation of their name (see on 47). On the Dryopes in general and the historical and archaeological evidence, see Strid, *Dryoper*.

3. *The praise of peace*

The pacification of the aggressive Dryopes and their transformation into ‘harmless’ Ἀσινεῖς leads to one of the most remarkable passages in B., his wonderful hymn to Peace, which – as far as we can see – had no parallel in his time. It was not until the later fifth century that Euripides and Aristophanes praised the benefits of peace, no doubt as a reaction to the devastation and loss of life caused by the Peloponnesian War. Euripides praises Peace as βαθύπλουτος and καλλίστα μακάρων θεῶν in the *Kresphontes* (fr. 453.2, cf. *Or.*1682–3), an idea echoed in Aristophanes’ *Georgoi* fr.111 (*PCG* III 2 p. 82); she ‘enjoys wealth’ (Eur. *Supp.* 491) and helps farmers to earn a living (Aristophanes frs. 111 and 402; Philemon fr. 74 = *PCG* VII p.264; Menander fr. 719 K. = 556 Koerte). Euripides also calls her ὀλβοδότειρα and κουροτρόφος (*Bacchae* 419–20: ‘neither epithet needs explanation in our time’, Dodds ad loc.). Peace is associated with song and festivity (Eur. *Kresphontes*, fr. 453.7–8), with the Muses (Μούσαισι προσφιλεστάτη, *Supp.* 489), and Opota (‘Harvest’) and Theoria (‘Holiday’) are her companions (Ar. *Peace* 520–6). Representations of Eirene in art do not appear before the end of the fifth century: see Shapiro, *Personifications* 45–50.

In early Greek poetry, peace is always seen as unity within the community or the *polis*; Demokritos says it succinctly: domestic discord is disastrous for both sides, winners and losers (στάσις ἐμφύλιος ἐξ ἑκάτερα κακόν· καὶ γὰρ νικέουσι καὶ ἡσσωμένοις ὁμοίη φθορή, B 249; cf. Plato, *Laws* 628c, quoted below), but unity enables cities to carry out great things, including wars (ἀπὸ ὁμονοίης τὰ μεγάλα ἔργα καὶ ταῖς πόλεσι τοὺς πολέμους δυνατόν κατεργάζεσθαι, ἄλλως δ’ οὐ, B 250). Moreover, if peace reigns within, there will also be prosperity. At the end of the *Odyssey*, Zeus tells Athena (24.485–6) that the people of Ithaka should love one another, as before the killing of the suitors: ‘there must be plenty of wealth and peace’ (πλοῦτος δὲ καὶ εἰρήνη ἄλις ἔστω). Hesiod’s Horai are born by Themis to Zeus: Eunomia, Dike, and ‘blossoming Eirene’ (Εἰρήνην τεθαλυῖαν, *Th.* 902) – Peace makes everything blossom, and in *Op.* 227–9 Hesiod says that where justice is respected, τοῖσι τέθηλε πόλις, λαοὶ δ’ ἀνθεῦσιν ἐν αὐτῇ· | εἰρήνην δ’ ἀνὰ γῆν κουροτρόφος, οὐδέ ποτ’ αὐτοῖς | ἀργαλέον πόλεμον τεκμαίρεται εὐρύσπα Ζεὺς, ‘their city blossoms, and in it the people flourish; peace that nourishes young men is on the land, and far-seeing Zeus never assigns them woeful war’, an idea which Pindar takes over from Hesiod: in Corinth dwell Eunomia, Dike and Eirene, τάμ’ ἀνδράσι πλούτου

(*O.* 13.7). Theognis, too, stresses the link between peace and wealth: Εἰρήνη καὶ πλοῦτος ἔχοι πόλιν, ὄφρα μετ' ἄλλων | κωμάζοιμι· κακοῦ δ' οὐκ ἔραμαι πολέμου, 'may peace and plenty rule the town, so we can all | make merry. I've no love of cruel war' (885–6). Hesiod, Pindar, and Theognis explicitly refer to peace *in cities*, not to peace between city-states, or to peace in general.

Bacchylides, too, sees wealth and festivity as fruits of peace. What is so new and remarkable in his concept is his portrayal of peace as a universal blessing. For him, peace is not internal concord and unity in the city (which, as Demokritos B 250 says, does not exclude wars with other cities), but a desirable state of bliss, a boon for all. In addition to prosperity and festivity he mentions γυμνάσια, αὐλοὶ and κῶμοι as things that young people care for (67–8) while their weapons are rusting, covered in spiders' webs; they are allowed to enjoy their sleep in the mornings without being woken by the sound of trumpets, and the town is filled with feasting and love-songs.

What motivated B. to include this vision of the blessings of peace in his paean? We cannot tell whether this was in response to the audience's expectations and/or whether it had a special relevance to the situation in the Argolid at the time. Whatever prompted the poet to express this view here, it is consistent with other passages where peace is opposed to the horrors of war; cf., in particular, his wish that Hieron may continue to rule 'in peace' (5.200) and his account of the confrontation between Proitos and Akrisios (11.64–76) where the people (λαοί) beseech their leaders to avoid war, which is closely paralleled by the Trojans' reaction to the embassy of Odysseus and Menelaos (15.45–6 θεοῖς δ' ἀνίσχοντες χέρας . . . εὐχοντο παύσασθαι δυνάμει). It therefore seems likely that these passages reflect the poet's personal conviction which overrides the needs of different genres of odes (victory odes, dithyrambs, paean).

In Bacchylides' time, this concept of universal peace has neither precedent nor parallel in contemporary literature. The Danaids' passionate prayer for peace in Aesch. *Supp.* 625–709 is different in that they pray for peace only for *their* city, Argos: 'and let no murderous havoc come upon this city to ravage it' (μηδέ τις ἀνδροκμήης λοιγὸς ἐπελθέτω τάνδε πόλιν δαΐζων, 678–80). Herodotos, however, seems to echo B. in his account of the Kroisos story (1.87): rescued from the pyre, Kroisos blames the Delphic oracle for his misfortune, 'for nobody is so unreasonable as to prefer war to peace' (οὐδεὶς γὰρ οὕτω ἀνόητός ἐστι ὅστις πόλεμον πρὸ εἰρήνης αἰρέεται), for in

peace the sons bury their fathers, but in war the fathers bury their sons. So for Herodotos, too, as for B., a state of peace between cities was a desirable ideal, and war its perversion (cf. Hdt. 8.3.1). This is a far cry from the traditional Greek view on war and peace, summed up in Plato's *Laws* in order to justify the need for 'guardians': πόλεμος ἀεὶ πᾶσιν διὰ βίου συνεχῆς ἐστὶ πρὸς ἀπάσας τὰς πόλεις (625e), so even in peace-time guardians are indispensable: 'for, as we would say, "peace", as the term is commonly employed, is nothing more than a name, the truth being that every state is, by a law of nature, engaged perpetually in an informal war with every other state' (ἦν γὰρ καλοῦσιν οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰρήνην, τοῦτ' εἶναι μόνον ὄνομα, τῷ δ' ἔργῳ πᾶσαις πρὸς πᾶσας τὰς πόλεις ἀεὶ πόλεμον ἀκήρυκτον κατὰ φύσιν εἶναι, 626a). The 'Athenian' does, however, conclude that war always harms both the victors and the vanquished, so one should pray for peace and restraint instead: 'the highest good, however, is neither war nor civil strife – which things we should pray rather to be saved from – but peace with one another and friendly feeling' (τό γε μὴν ἄριστον οὔτε ὁ πόλεμος οὔτε ἡ στάσις, ἀπευκτὸν δὲ τὸ δεηθῆναι τούτων, εἰρήνη δὲ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἅμα καὶ φιλοφροσύνη (628c), so the law-giver should legislate on matters of war for the sake of peace, not the other way round: 'nor will he make a finished lawgiver unless he designs his war legislation for peace rather than his peace legislation for war' (γένοιτο . . . οὗτ' ἂν νομοθέτης ἀκριβὴς εἰ μὴ χάριν εἰρήνης νομοθετοῖ μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν πολεμικῶν ἕνεκα τὰ τῆς εἰρήνης, 628d).

The view expressed here by Plato that the 'natural' state of the world is war remained almost unchallenged throughout the hellenistic age – praises of peace, like that in Apollodoros of Karystos (fr. 5, *PCG* II p.489), are lone voices. It is not until the time of Augustus that the ideal of universal peace reappears, as a powerful element of Augustus' political programme, the pacification of the Empire in the *pax Romana* which the Senate honoured in 13 BCE with the commission of the *Ara Pacis*. On war and peace in general, see Zampaglione, *The idea of peace in antiquity*; Sordi (ed.), *La pace nel mondo antico*.

21–5 These lines (= fr.22) are quoted in Athenaios (5.5.178b), who says that in B. they refer to Herakles ὡς ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ Κήρυκος οἶκον. Apollod. 2.7.7 also mentions Herakles' visit to Keyx at Trachis; Herakles, he says, on his way through the land of the Dryopes met Theiodamas, and as he was in need of food, he slaughtered one of Theiodamas' two

bulls and ate it. But when he reached Trachis, he was entertained there by Keyx and then defeated the Dryopes (ὑποδεχθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ Δρύοπας κατεπολέμησεν), cf. also Diod. 4.36.5–37.1. This episode must precede the events narrated in lines 39–60; it need not have taken up more than 13 lines, which is the minimum length of the gap indicated by the metre (i.e., lines 6–10 of an epode and lines 1–8 of the following strophe).

22 **θοίνας** ‘meal’, ‘dinner party’, often – as here – in the plural: Alkman *PMG* 98 (= 129 Calame); Thgn. 239; Aesch. *Prom.* 530; in sing.: [Hes.] *Sc.* 114; Pind. fr. 70a.11; Aesch. fr. 350.7 (of Thetis’ wedding). Homer uses only the verb: θοινηθῆναι *Od.* 4.36.

ἐντυον: Homer has both ἐντῦ- (*Il.* 5.720 ἐντυον ἵππους, *Od.* 23.289 ἐντυον εὐνήν) and ἐντῦν- (*Il.* 9.203 δέπας, *Od.* 3.33 ≈ 17.182 δαῖτ' ἐντυνόμεναι, 15.500 δειπνον, 16.2 ἄριστον). The original meaning seems to be ‘to provide with tools’ (ἐντεα) = ‘to equip’, hence ‘to prepare’; see Braswell on Pind. *P.* 4.181d and van Groningen on Thgn. 196.

23–5 ‘**αὐτόματοι . . . φῶτες**’: the proverb (Zenobius, *Cent.* 2.19 = *CPG* 1 p.37) is quoted by Plato (*Symp.* 174b) who jokingly refers to *Il.* 2.404–8 (where Agamemnon invites all the Achaean leaders to a meal, except for Menelaos who comes uninvited, αὐτόματος), with a pun on the name of Agathon to whose house Socrates and his friends are going uninvited. The motif of ‘gate-crashing’ guests or uninvited strangers is found already in Archilochos (fr. 124) and Asios (*PEG* 1 p.129); it is also implied in Hermes’ grim warning to Prometheus (Aesch. *Prom.* 1021–5) that the eagle will lacerate his liver, ἄκλητος ἔρπων δαιταλεύς (1024). It later becomes popular in comedy: Kratinos fr. 182 (*PCG* IV p.214), Eupolis fr. 315 (*PCG* V p.480), Alexis fr. 241 (*PCG* II p.156).

δαΐτας εὐόχθους ‘plentiful meals’; the epithet is first found here, then in Eur. *Ion* 1169, but εὐοχθεῖν occurs in Hes. *Op.* 477. The etymology is unclear; there may be a connection with ὀχθεῖν ‘to be laden’, perhaps of banquet-tables, cf. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire* I 386.

40 – – –]εῖ! τελευτ[–: if]εῖ! is the correct reading of the traces (see Barrett 1954: 443), it is likely to be a verb-ending, perhaps a future rather than a present, if it was part of a god’s announcement or prophecy: e.g. ὕβριος δειξ[εῖ] τελευτ[άν] (sc. Herakles).

41 – –]κέλευσεν Φοῖβος: 6–7 letters are lost at the beginning. If the preceding lines form part of a speech, possibly a prophecy by Apollo, κέλευσεν preceded by a demonstrative pronoun as object may have served as a *verbum dicendi* to indicate the end of a direct speech, analogous to the

epic ὥς φατο etc.: ὥς τοῦς] κέλευσεν? That would make it similar to Pind. *Pae.* 2.73–9 where a prophecy in direct speech (73–5) is followed by ἀγγελλε δε λόγον . . . Ἐκάτα (see Führer, *Reden* 63–5).

41–43 [Ἀλκμήνας] . . . υἱ[ιδὸν στέλλεν] ἐκ ναοῦ: Barrett's supplements imply that Apollo's instruction, given in direct speech in the preceding stanza, is here summed up.

παρ[– – –]: Παρ[νασσίδος or Παρ[νασσίας (sc. χώρας) 'the region of Parnassos' Barrett (1954: 430), who, however, doubts whether B. would have used either of these forms.

44–46 Herakles settles the Dryopes at Asine and marks their boundary by a twisted olive tree, as Pausanias 2.28.2 reports: 'Going up the road to Mount Koryphon [between Epidauros and Asine], there is on the way a tree of the so-called "twisted olive": it was Herakles who had turned it into this shape with his hand.' Pausanias gives no indication whether Herakles marked the frontier with an olive at one place or at more . . . ; ἐλαίας therefore may be either gen. sing. or acc. plur.', Barrett 1954: 430.

44 ἀλλ' ὃ γε τᾷιδ' ἐνὶ χώρᾳ<1>? a pronoun in the nominative, referring to Herakles, is called for, because there can be little doubt that Herakles is the subject of στρέψας in 46. τᾷιδ' ἐνὶ χώρᾳ<1> 'here in this region' refers to Asine where this paean was being performed.

45 – – – –] χῖσεν ταν φυλλῶ. [– – – –] only eight, or at most nine, letters are lost at the beginning, which can hardly have accommodated five syllables; some corruption may have occurred here.]χῖσεν can only be (ἐ)τεῖ]χῖσεν or (ἐ)σ]χῖσεν: the former would not make sense here, as 'a series of twisted olives round a frontier is not a τεῖχος' Barrett 1954: 431; the latter may refer to 'splitting' the earth, i.e. digging up the ground (in order to plant an olive tree), as Aietes does in Pindar, *P.* 4.228, cf. also fr. 128f (of Kaineus); *N.* 9.24–5 (Zeus) σχίσσεν . . . χθόνα.

47–48 – – – –] φ' Ἀσινεῖς [– – – –] λεσσ' • (or]λε[ι]τ'): Herakles resettled 'the plundering Dryopes . . . so that, due to the large population, they might be prevented from committing crimes' (*Et. Gen.* s.v. Ἀσινεῖς; similarly schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.1212–19a), so that they became ἀσινεῖς 'harmless'. If B. here referred to the same etymology, one might try, e.g., ἡδ' ἐτέως σ]φ' Ἀσινεῖς [εὔντας κἀ]λεσσ' 'he (= Herakles) called them truly Ἀσινεῖς.' The only difficulty is that the accusative should be Ἀσινέας (or Ἀσινῆς), not Ἀσινεῖς which would be the normal acc. plur. in hellenistic and later Greek; it may have replaced an original Ἀσινέας (see Barrett 1954: 433).

49 –~]εξ ἑξ ἀλικῶν τε. [–~–~: ‘Ἀλικῶν, i.e. the people of Halieis (on the south coast of the Argolid), or ἀλικῶν, i.e. ‘groats of rice-wheat’, of which some kind of sacrificial cake was made (Athen. 14.647d) ? The difficulty about Halieis is that it is about 30 km south-east of Asine, so how can Melampous come from there, if he set out ἐξ Ἄργεως (50) ?

50–3 The seer Melampous, son of Amythaon, comes from Argos and founds an altar and sanctuary of Apollo Pythaieus. This passage is the only evidence for his connection with Asine. On Melampous see *Od.* 15.225–42; [Hes.] fr. 37; Apollod. 1.9.11–12; Löffler, *Die Melampodie*; E. Simon, *LIMC* VI 405–10.

52 βω]μόν τε Πυθα<ι>εῖ κτίσε[–~~–: for the spelling Πυθαίεϋς see Barrett 1954: 434. At the end, perhaps μηλοθύταν (cf. B. 8.17), or κτίσε[ν ἀκρότατον, as the site of the sanctuary is on the top of a hill called Varvouna.

54–6 ‘From that root sprang this precinct, and Apollo gave it honour passing great’ Barrett 1954: 435. For the metaphor ‘root’ ≈ ‘foundation’ cf. Pind. *P.* 4.14–16. Apollo honoured Melampous’ foundation, making it grow into the sanctuary where this paean is now being performed, τόδε χρ[ησμοιδὸν αὖξων] . . . [ἄλσο]ς.

58–60 The metre of the last three verses of the epode cannot be completely established. For 58–9 Barrett suggested τᾶν αἶμ]ονες, ὦ ἄνα, Τρο[ζηνίων σε κοῦροι κλείζον]τι, ‘expert in these (sc. songs, μολπᾶν), o Lord, the youths of Troizen praise you’, but other supplements can be thought of (νῦν εὐφρ]ονες . . . τέ[ρπονται πολῖται ?).

60 (.)].**φ**ιοισιν[may be –~–]. αἰ οἰciv[– . . . or (–) –~–]. αἰ οἰ σιν[~–, see Barrett 1954: 438. One would expect this line to have formed a transition from Apollo the giver of wealth to the blessings of peace. The transition from 60 (epode B) to 61 (strophe Γ) appears to be abrupt; Maas (1932: 471 = *KL.Schr.* 35) compares Pindar’s *Paeon* 6, where the transition from the end of the second triad with the mythical narrative about Neoptolemos (108–20) to the beginning of the third (address to Aegina, 123) is similarly abrupt. But, as lines 58–60 cannot be confidently restored, the transition may have been less abrupt than it seems.

61–70 Snell’s combination of the last ten lines of pap. **T** with the first nine lines of fr. 4, preserved in Stob. 4.14.3, has helped to correct the latter in a number of places and has confirmed several conjectures (see the app. crit.). Above all, the papyrus shows the ancient colometry, which enabled Maas to establish the respension (Maas 1932).

61 **τίκτει** ‘creates’; for the metaphor cf. 10.46 τὸ μέλλον δ’ ἀκρίτους τίκτει τελευτάς, Solon 6.3 τίκτει γὰρ κόρος ὕβριν (cf. Thgn. 153); Thgn. 392 (poverty) τίκτει ἀμηχανίην. The use of genealogical metaphors, such as Pindar’s ὕβριν, κόρου ματέρα (*O.* 13.10) or χρόνος ὁ πάντων πατήρ (*O.* 2.17, cf. πλούτου μητέρα . . . Δήμητρα *PMG* 885, πειθαρχία . . . εὐπραξίας μήτηρ Aesch. *Sept.* 224–5) is as old as Homer’s μητέρα μήλων (‘producing sheep’, *Il.* 2.696; 11.222 etc.). On genealogies of abstractions see West, *Hesiod: Theogony* pp. 33–4.

62 **μεγαλάνορα πλοῦτον**: the idea that wealth ‘makes a man great’ is shared by Pindar, cf. *O.* 1.2 μεγάνορος . . . πλούτου and *P.* 5.1–4 Ὁ πλοῦτος εὐρυσθενής, | ὅταν τις . . . | βροτήσιος ἀνὴρ πότμου παραδόντος αὐτὸν ἀνάγῃ | πολύφιλον ἐπέταν, ‘wealth has wide strength, when . . . a mortal man receives it from destiny and takes it as a companion which brings many friends’. Conversely, Pindar says that discord (στάσις) is ‘a giver of poverty, a hostile nurse’ (πενίας δότειραν, ἐχθρὰν κουροτρόφον, fr. 109) and that ‘war is something sweet for the inexperienced, but the one who is experienced dreads it exceedingly in his heart when it comes’ (γλυκὺ δὲ πόλεμος ἀπείροισιν, ἐμπείρων δὲ τις ταρβέει προσιόντα νιν καρδίᾳ περισσῶς, fr. 110 from the same dancing song). The link between peace and wealth is often emphasized in poetry, cf. *Od.* 24.486 (quoted above, p. 231), *PMG* 1021 ὦ γλυκεῖ Ἐϊράνα, πλουτοδότειρα βροτοῖς, and Eur. fr. 453.1 Εἰρήνα βαθύπλουτε.

63 **ᾠοιδᾶν ἄνθεα**: for the metaphor, see on 16.8–9. The link between peace and poetry or song is also emphasized by Euripides, cf. *Supp.* 491 Εἰρήνη . . . Μοῦσαισι προσφιλεστάτη and fr. 453 (from the *Kresphontes*) where the chorus praise Peace as offering καλλιχόρους ᾠοιδὰς φιλοστεφάνους τε κώμους, ‘songs with lovely choirs and garland-loving revels’.

64–8 The main verb, τίκτει (61), governs not only the direct objects (πλοῦτον and ἄνθεα) but also the consecutive infinitives αἶθεσθαι and μέλιν, ‘Peace achieves . . . wealth and the bloom of songs, and that offerings burn on altars and that the young care for sport, music and revels.’ This kind of ‘zeugma’ (which ‘yokes’ together nouns or adjectives and infinitives) has many parallels in Homer, e.g. *Il.* 7.203 δὸς νίκην Αἴαντι . . . εὖχος ἀρέσθαι, *Od.* 3.370 ἵππους, οἳ τοι ἐλαφρότατοι θέειν καὶ κάρτος ἄριστοι, also in tragedy: Soph. *OC* 607–8 μόνοις οὐ γίγνεται | θεοῖσι γῆρας οὐδὲ καθθανεῖν ποτέ. Examples illustrating the various uses of consecutive infinitives (after transitive and intransitive verbs, after nouns, after adjectives

etc.) can be found in Schwyzer II 362–6 and in K–G II 2–17; for Homer see Chantraine, *GH* II 301–4 who distinguishes consecutive, determinative, and complementary infinitives.

65 ξανθᾶι φλογί ‘in yellow flame’, as in 3.56 ξανθὰ[ν φλόγα], a bold usage, not paralleled in poetry.

66 εὐμάλλων τε μήλων: the papyrus has]λωντε[, Stobaios transmits μηρίταν εὐτρίχων in SM (μηρῦταν εὐτρόχων A). It seems that in the text of Stobaios’ anthology, the original εὐμάλλων had been replaced by a gloss, εὐτρίχων. The metre favours μηρί’ εὐμάλλων (– ∼ – – –), as B. tends to avoid | – ∼ – ∼ . . . in dactyloepitrites; see Barrett 1956: 250. This compound is found only here and in Pindar, *I.* 5.62 (εὐμάλλον μίτραν); similar compounds are the Homeric πηγείμαλλος (*Il.* 3.197) and δασύμαλλος (*Od.* 9.425, both said of a ram, ‘thick-fleeced’), and βαθύμαλλος (Pindar, *P.* 4.161, of Phrixos’ ram).

67–8 γυμνασίων τε . . . μέλειν: both athletics and music are integral elements of Greek festivals from Homer’s Phaiacians onwards; the Ionians celebrate Apollo’s festival on Delos πυγμαχίῃ τε καὶ ὀρχηθμῶι καὶ ὁδοῖ (h.*Ap.* 149), and for Plato the best education (παιδεία) is still the time-honoured and traditional one, ἡ μὲν ἐπὶ σώμασι γυμναστική, ἡ δ’ ἐπὶ ψυχῇ μουσική (*Rep.* 376e). Significantly, it was with athletic and musical contests that Alexander celebrated his conquest of Egypt in Memphis, twice (ἀγῶνα ἐποίησε γυμνικόν τε καὶ μουσικόν, Arrian 3.1.4 and again 3.5.2), obviously because he saw these as the key elements of Greek civilization which he wanted to display in the newly conquered foreign land.

69–70 The image of the discarded weapons covered in cobwebs recurs in Eur. *Erechtheus* where the chorus of old men wish ‘may my spear rest, so that with spiders thread twines round it, while I live in my old age with tranquillity’ (κέισθω δόρυ μοι μίτον ἀμφιπλέκειν ἀράχλαις, μετὰ δ’ ἡσυχίας πολιδῶι γήρᾳ συνοικοίην, fr. 369.1–2 N²), and in Theokritos’ prayer for Syracuse, 16.96–7: ‘may spiders spin their delicate nets over armour, and the cry of onset be no more even named’ (ἀράχλαι δ’ εἰς ὄπλ’ ἀράχλαι | λεπτὰ διαστήσαιντο, βοᾶς δ’ ἔτι μηδ’ ὄνομ’ εἴη); cf. Nonnos 38.13–14 ‘and the shield which Bakchos had borne for six years lay far from the battle covered with spiders’ webs’ (ἔκειτο δὲ τηλόθι χάρμης | Βακχιάς ἐξάετηρος ἀραχνιώσασα βοείη).

69 πόρπαξιν: the πόρπαξ is the bronze handle of a hoplite’s shield or a *pelta*, see Snodgrass, *Arms and armour* 53–5 and 95.

70 ἄρᾱχνᾱν, responding to παιδικοί (80) and, very probably, to [μάντι]ς ἐξ (50), must be – ~ –. While initial ῥ– is often ‘prolonged’, lengthening the preceding syllable (cf. West, *Metre* 15–16) as in line 54 above (ἄπρὸ ῥίζας) and 13.96 τε ῥοδό[παχυν], 16.34 ἐπὶ ῥοδόεντι, also in compounds (e.g. ἄρρητων, B. fr. 5.3), it is rare for single –ρ– within a word to have this effect, except occasionally in names (e.g. Ἀρραβίας Theokr. 17.86, see Gow ad loc.). B. may have treated the word on the analogy of compounds like ἄρρητος, ἄρρηκτος or καλλίρροος, (where –ρ– stands for –Fρ–); this seems preferable to the alternative assumption (considered by West, *Metre* 74) that ~ ~ – at the beginning of a verse or period might respond with | – ~ –.

71–2 ἔγχεα . . . εὖρος: the idea that in times of peace, the weapons are covered by rust, recurs in Tibullus 1.10.49–50 *pace bidens vomerque nitent, at tristia duri | militis in tenebris occupat arma situs*, who may well have been inspired by this passage in B.; cf. Ovid, *Fasti* 4.927–30, and the parallels from English literature quoted by K. F. Smith on Tib. 1.10.49–50. The motif of the discarded weapons is used in two epigrams by Mnasalkas (*AP* 6.125 and 128, = Page, *Epigr.* 2590–9) and one by Anyte (*AP* 6.123 = Page, *Epigr.* 676–9), which is characteristically different in tone: whereas in Mnasalkas’ epigrams the shield is presented as a symbol of military prowess and pride, Anyte gives voice to her horror of bloodshed: ‘stay here, man-killing spear, spill no longer dreadful enemy blood round your brazen claw, but resting in Athena’s lofty marble hall announce the prowess of Echekratidas the Cretan’ (κράνεια βροτόκτονε, μηδ’ ἔτι λυγρὸν | χάλκεον ἀμφ’ ὄνυχᾶ στάζεε φόνον δαΐων).

75 χάλκεᾶν . . . σαλπίγγων: on trumpets, see on 18.3–4. In hellenistic epigrams trumpets, like shields and spears, are dedicated in temples after they have outlived their usefulness, cf. *AP* 6.46 (= Page, *Epigr.* 3336–9) and its counterpart 159 (= Page, *Epigr.* 3340–3) by Antipatros of Sidon (late 2nd cent. BCE).

76–7 μελίφρων ὕπνος ‘mind-sweetening sleep’; the phrase occurs once in Homer (*Il.* 2.34, more often μελιγδής, νήδυμος), where this compound is often connected with wine. The idea seems to be that a good, long sleep has a relaxing effect on the mind, rather like that of wine; the compound is explained as ‘gentle, because it sweetens the mind’ in Apoll. Soph.; cf. οἶνον ἐϋφρονα *Il.* 3.246.

77–8 ὕπνος . . . ἄωιος: the MSS of Stobaios have ἄμος (S), ἄμοσ (M) and ἄμος (A), corrected by Blass. The corruption of ω to μ is more likely

to have occurred in majuscule than in minuscule. Sleep is sweetest before dawn, as Pindar says of Kyrene: ‘while only briefly expending upon her eyelids that sweet bed-mate, the sleep that descends upon them toward dawn’ (γλυκὺν . . . ὕπνον ἀναλίσκασα ῥέποντα πρὸς ἄω, *P.* 9.23–5), cf. [Eur.] *Rhes.* 554–6 and Moschos, *Europa* 2–4.

79 συμποσίων . . . βριθοντ’ ἀγυαί ‘the streets are laden with . . . feasts’, cf. 3.16 βρύουσι φιλοξενίας ἀγυαί. The verb means ‘to be heavy with’; it takes either dative (*Il.* 8.304 μήκων . . . καρπῶι βριθομένη, *PMG* 994 Niobe is βλάσταις τε τέκνων βριθομένη) or genitive ([Hes.] *Sc.* 289–90 πέτηλα | βριθόμενα σταχύων, *SH* 982.7–8 εὐθενίης βαθυπλοῦτου βριθόμενος).

80 παιδικοί: with the exception of ethnic or geographical designations like Κρητικός, Ἀχαιικός, ἄσμαρικός etc., adjectives in -ικός are very rare in early Greek poetry; Homer has only ὄρφανικός (*Il.* 6.432, 11.394), Aeschylus has ἄστικός (*Supp.* 501 and 618, *Eum.* 997), ἱππικός (*Th.* 245); παιδι[in Alkman *PMG* 3.83 (= 26 Calame) is very uncertain. However, the alternatives suggested by Maas (*Resp.* 1.23: λιπαροί, μαλακοί, ἱλαροί) are too general to be attractive: see the next note.

παιδικοί θ’ ὕμνοι φλέγονται: hardly ‘songs performed by boys’ but ‘lovesongs in praise of boys’, as the verb suggests – the songs are ‘burning’ with passion; cf. Plato, *Charm.* 155d εἰδὼν τε τὰ ἐντὸς τοῦ ἱματίου καὶ ἐφλεγόμεν καὶ οὐκέτ’ ἐν ἑαυτοῦ ᾗν, and similarly of homoerotic passion in hellenistic epigrams, e.g. *AP* 12.178 (Straton) and 46 (= Asklepiades 15 G.-P., discussed by Bonanno 1996: 155–9); cf. also *AP* 5.123.5–6 Σελήνη | καὶ γὰρ σὴν ψυχὴν ἐφλεγεν Ἐνδυμίων (Poseidippos). On the origin of the metaphorical use of the verb see Braswell on Pind. *P.* 4.219b.

81–90 The last epode may have contained, as Maas (1932: 471 = *Kl.Schr.* 35) suggested, another invocation of Apollo, perhaps similar to the one in 58. In any case, there can be no doubt that Apollo was addressed at the beginning of this paean. The mythical narrative would then, if Maas’ assumption is correct, have been punctuated by three addresses to the god.

FRAGMENTS 11 + 12: PROSODION

Fragments 11 and 12 are both transmitted in Stobaios’ chapter ‘On those who suffer unfairly’ (περὶ τῶν παρ’ ἄξιαν δυστυχοῦντων, 4.43.16 and 46 = *Ioannis Stobaei Anthologium* v pp.962 and 969 Wachsmuth-Hense) under the heading Βακχυλίδου προσοδίων, as is fr.13 in Stob. 4.34.24 (v p.833 W.-H., from ‘On life being brief, paltry, and full of worries’). This ought to

imply that the Alexandrian edition of the odes of B. contained a book of Προσόδια or ‘Procession Songs’. *Prosodia* were defined as songs performed by male or female choirs in processions approaching an altar or a temple (schol. Lond. AE to Dionysius Thrax, p. 451.17 Hilgard: προσόδιόν ἐστι ποίημα ὑπὸ ἁρρένων ἢ παρθένων χοροῦ ἐν τῇ προσόδῳ τῇ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν αἰδόμενον, similarly schol. Ar. *Aves* 853 προσόδια τὰ εἰς πανηγύρεις τῶν θεῶν ποιήματα παρὰ τῶν λυρικῶν ποιητῶν). Inasmuch as they were composed for religious occasions, they were a sub-category of hymns, although according to Didymos they differed from hymns in that they were accompanied by oboes, not by the *kithara* (EM 690.33 προσόδια: παρὰ τὸ προσιόντας ναοῖς ἢ βωμοῖς πρὸς αὐλὸν αἰδεῖν· ἴδια δὲ τῶν ὕμνων, ὅτι τοὺς ὕμνους πρὸς κιθάραν ἐστῶτες αἰδουσιν. οὕτω Δίδυμος ἐν τῷ περὶ λυρικῶν ποιητῶν).

As regards frs. 11 and 12 of B., Neue suggested long ago (*Bacchylidis Cei fragmenta*, p. 26) that they belong to the same poem, in this order, and this is confirmed by the responson of fr. 12 with lines 3–5 of fr. 11. Unfortunately, the surviving lines give no clue as to the identity of the goddess or god whom this procession song celebrated, or to the festival for which it was composed.

Fr. 11

1 εἷς ὄρος, μία . . . ὁδός: examples of words repeated for emphasis (emphatic anaphora) include Soph. fr. 591.1–2 ἐν φύλον ἀνθρώπων, μὴ ἔδειξε πατρὸς | καὶ ματρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀμέρα τοὺς πάντας, Pind. *N.* 6.1–2 ἐν ἀνδρῶν, ἐν θεῶν γένος· ἐκ μιᾶς δὲ πνέομεν | ματρὸς ἀμφοτέροι, *Il.* 2.204–5 εἷς κοίρανος ἔστω, | εἷς βασιλεύς, cf. Aesch. *Cho.* 725–6 and 1014, Hdt. 5.1.3, Pindar fr. 75.16. These and similar repetitions are discussed by Fehling, *Wiederholungsfiguren* 211–12, who classifies these verbal repetitions as ‘strongly emphatic’.

ὄρος: the original meaning is ‘boundary’, ‘boundary stone’, as in *Il.* 21.405 (λίθον) τόν ῥ’ ἀνδρες πρότεροι θέσαν ἔμμεναι οὖρον ἀρούρης, cf. Solon 36.6; also in a temporal sense, ‘time limit’, see on B. 5.143–4 ζωῆς ὄρον. Here B. seems to mean the ‘limit’ of happiness that mortals can attain, and the ‘path’ on which it is achieved (εὐτυχίας refers to both metaphors). This statement is a variation of a well-known *topos*, ‘know your limits’ or ‘do not strive to become god’, μὴ ματεύσῃ θεὸς γενέσθαι Pind. *O.* 5.24, cf. *I.* 5.14 μὴ μάτευσ Ζεὺς γενέσθαι and the passages discussed by Bundy 54–61.

Jebb, followed by LSJ, took ὅρος here to mean ‘the canon, the rule or standard, by which true εὐτυχία is to be measured; ὁδός, the course to be followed’. This seems unlikely, because it is not before Plato that ὅρος is used in the sense of ‘standard, rule’; in his discussion of wealth and oligarchic constitution in Book 8 of the *Republic*, he says that the ‘standard’ for being eligible for office in an oligarchy is wealth (ὅρον πολιτείας ὀλιγαρχικῆς ταξάμενοι πλῆθος χρημάτων, *Rep.* 551ab), a discussion to which Aristotle refers in *Pol.* 1294a10 ἀριστοκρατίας μὲν γὰρ ὅρος ἀρετῆ, ὀλιγαρχίας δὲ πλοῦτος, δήμου δὲ ἐλευθερία.

2–3 ἀπενθῆ . . . διατελεῖν βίον: cf. Alkman 1.37–9 ὁ δ’ ὄλβιος, ὅστις εὐφρων | ἀμέραν [δι]ατλέκει | ἄκλαυτος ‘blessed is he who merrily weaves the day’s pattern to its end, without a tear’. Maxims like this one, which give vent to a general desire for quiet happiness, are often found in cult songs such as *partheneia*, *prosodia*, *hyporchemata*, as well as in tragedy, cf. Soph. fr.593 ‘let any man procure as much pleasure as he can as he lives his daily life; but the morrow comes ever blind’ (ζῶοι τις ἀνθρώπων τὸ κατ’ ἡμάρ ὅπως | ἥδιστα πορσύνων· τὸ δ’ ἐς αὔριον αἰεὶ | τυφλὸν ἔρπει), also Eur. *Ba.* 902–11 (see Dodds ad loc.) and the passages listed by Dodds on Eur. *Ba.* 424–6. These general statements need not reflect the poet’s personal views, although they would presumably not militate against them. They seem intentionally anodyne, so that everybody present, audience as well as chorus, would be able to subscribe to them. For the poet it was a means to engage the audience in the performance by enabling them to identify with fundamental ideas and sentiments voiced by the chorus, an essential element particularly in cult poetry, exemplified also in J. S. Bach’s cantatas and the chorales of his *St. John Passion* and *St. Matthew Passion*.

3–4 ὃς δὲ μυρία μὲν ἀμφιπολεῖ φρενὶ ‘but he who in his mind encompasses countless things’, instead of concentrating his mind on what is attainable for mortals, will achieve nothing. A similar statement is offered by Pindar in *P.* 3.21–3 ἔστι δὲ φῦλον ἐν ἀνθρώποισι ματαιότατον, ὅστις αἰσχύνων ἐπιχώρια παπταίνει τὰ πόρσω, μεταμῶνία θηρεύων ἀκράντοις ἐλπίσιν ‘for there is among mankind a very foolish kind of person, who scorns what is at hand and peers at things far away, chasing the impossible with hopes unfulfilled’.

ἀμφιπολεῖ ‘encompasses’, ‘surrounds’ or ‘takes hold of’, as in Pind. *P.* 4.157–8 ἤδη με γηραιὸν μέρος ἀλικίας ἀμφιπολεῖ, explained by schol. ad loc. as περικυκλοῖ καὶ περιέχει, see Braswell ad loc.

5–7 τὸ δὲ παρ' ἄμαρ τε <καί> νύκτα . . . ἰάπτεται κέαρ (Grotius: τὸ δὲ παρόμαρτε νύκτα MSS) 'but with this day and night . . . he torments his heart'. This usage of τὸ δέ or τό γε is well attested already in Homer: *Il.* 5.827 μήτε σύ γ' Ἄρῃα τό γε δεῖδιθι, 14.191 κοτεσσαμένη τό γε θυμῶι. τὸ δέ is not used adverbially ('on the other hand'), but is the demonstrative pronoun in the accusative of respect, as often in Thukydides and Plato, cf. Plato, *Apol.* 23a τὸ δὲ κινδυνεύει . . . τῶι ὄντι ὁ θεὸς σοφὸς εἶναι ('in this respect'); on this usage see Miller 1908: 121–46 (on Pl. *Apol.* 23a: 144–5).

μελλόντων χάριν: it is useless to torment oneself 'for the sake of the future'. Pindar has a very similar statement: 'desires for various things stir in the minds of various men, and each one who wins what he strives for may gain the coveted object of his immediate concern, but there is no sure sign to foresee what a year may bring', *P.* 10.60–3; cf. Soph. fr. 590.

ἰάπτεται κέαρ: the verb seems to have attracted a variety of interpretations, as reflected in Hesych. 1 113 ἴαψε' προῦθηκεν . . . ἔπεμψεν. ἔβαλεν. ἔδωκεν. ἔδειξεν. ἔφθιρεν. ἐνίκησεν and 66 ἰάπτειν' σπαράσσειν. αἰκίζεσθαι . . . βλάπτειν, and so LSJ assume two distinct verbs, (a) = 'hurt, spoil' and (b) = 'send forth, shoot' (of missiles). This seems unnecessary, as the basic meaning seems to be 'to throw' (= βάλλειν), as in προῖαψεν *Il.* 1.3, hence – in analogy to βάλλειν – 'to hit, wound, damage', as in combination with κατά in *Od.* 2.376 and 4.749 and reflected in σπαράσσειν, αἰκίζεσθαι in Hesychios 1 66. The passive form also occurs in the very similar phrase ἰάπτομαι ἀλγεσιν ἥτορ in Moschos 4.39.

Fr. 12

1 τί γὰρ ἑλαφρόν ἔτ' ἐστίν 'what relief is there any longer . . .?', a rhetorical question in the sense of βαρὺ γάρ or χαλεπὸν γάρ ἐστίν.

2–3 ἄπρακτ' ὀδυρόμενον: after *Il.* 24.524 οὐ γάρ τις πρῆξις πέλεται κρυεροῖο γόοιο, see on 5.162–4.

δονεῖν καρδίαν: the verb ('shaking, buffeting') is used of storms in the *Iliad* (12.157, 17.55) and in B. 5.65–7; its figurative usage is first found in Sappho 130 Ἔρος δηῦτε μ' ὁ λυσιμέλης δόνει (cf. 47 Ἔρος δ' ἐτίναξέ μοι φρένας), parodied in Ar. *Eccl.* 954–5 πάνυ γάρ τις ἔρωσ με δονεῖ | τῶνδε τῶν σῶν βοστρύχων. Pindar, *P.* 4.219 also uses it of erotic passion, in *P.* 6.36 of panic in the face of death (cf. *N.* 6.56), B. 1.179 of κουφόταται μέριμναι ('lightweight ambitions?'). Here, ὀδυρόμενον may suggest some loss or bereavement.

FRAGMENTS 20A–D: ENKOMIA (?)

The title of the book, of which the papyri **P** and **Q** have preserved substantial fragments, is unfortunately not known. The first editors (Grenfell and Hunt, *P. Oxy.* xi p.66) thought of σκόλια or παροίνια ‘drinking songs’, Körte (1918: 137–8) suggested ἐγκώμια; none of these is attested as a book-title for B. Now, the songs frs. 20B and 20C were clearly composed to be sung at symposia, and this could well be true also of the other songs contained in this book. Even so, it does not seem likely that they would have been classified as σκόλια because those simple two-line and four-line songs which Athenaios 15.693f–696a (= *PMG* 884–908, = Fabbro, *Carmina convivialia* 1–25) quotes as examples of the old Attic drinking songs (σκόλια) are quite different in character and scope; they may well have been sung by guests at a symposion, one by one, in turns, and this would represent the second of the three types of *skolia* distinguished by Artemon (quoted in Athen. 15.694a): ‘the songs sung in social gatherings; of these, the first kind was that which it was customary for all to sing in chorus; the second was sung by all, to be sure, but in a regular succession, one taking it up after another; and the third kind, which came last of all in order, was that no longer sung by all the company, but by those only who enjoyed the reputation of being specially skilled at it, and in whatever part of the room they happened to be’ (τὰ περὶ τὰς συνουσίας ἦν αἰδόμενα, ὧν τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἦν ὃ δὴ πάντας αἰδεῖν νόμος ἦν, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον ὃ δὴ πάντες μὲν ἤιδον, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ γε κατὰ τινὰ περίοδον ἐξ ὑποδοχῆς, τὸ τρίτον δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ πᾶσι τάξιν ἔχον, οὗ μετεῖχον οὐκέτι πάντες, ἀλλ’οἱ συνετοὶ δοκοῦντες εἶναι μόνοι καὶ καθ’ ὄντινα τόπον αἰεὶ τύχοιεν ὄντες). This distinction, which seems to go back to Dikaiarchos (fr. 88 Wehrli = schol. Plat. *Gorg.* 451e), is still found in Plutarch, *Quaest. conv.* 1.1.5 (= *Mor.* 615b); cf. the testimonia collected by Fabbro, *Carmina convivialia* 3–15.

It seems to be the third of the three types outlined in these writers that is represented by Bacchylides’ fragments 20A–D and by Pindar’s fragments 118–28, i.e. the type of song not sung by all the guests but only by the ‘experts’ (οἱ συνετοὶ δοκοῦντες εἶναι μόνοι) who were able to offer a particularly attractive song that contained also good advice and useful information: ‘they required all the trained singers in turn to offer a beautiful song for the common enjoyment. They believed that the beautiful song was the one which seemed to contain advice and counsel useful for the conduct of life’ (ὠιδὴν τινὰ καλὴν εἰς μέσον ἡξίουσιν προφέρειν. καλὴν δὲ ταύτην ἐνόμιζον

τὴν παραίνεσιν τέ τινα καὶ γνώμην ἔχειν δοκοῦσαν χρησίμην εἰς τὸν βίον, Artemon in Athen. 15.694bc = *Carmina convivialia* 7–8). Of Pindar's fragments 118–28, three are explicitly quoted as σκόλια (frs. 122, 125 and 128), but the very similar fr. 118 as an ἐγκώμιον, so both terms evidently refer to the same kind of symposion song. The list of the seventeen books of Pindar's songs mentions only a book of ἐγκώμια (*vita Ambrosiana* 1.3 Drachm.), but the older biography of Pindar (*P. Oxy.* xxiii 2438.38) has ἐγκωμίων ἃ ἐν [...] κα[, which has been convincingly restored to ἐν [ῶι] κα[ὶ] σκόλια τινα (Gallo, *Una nuova biografia di Pindaro* 73–7). This suggests that Aristophanes of Byzantium had called this book ἐγκώμια but included some songs which one would have called σκόλια, or 'drinking songs'. It therefore seems likely that Bacchylides' book partly preserved in the papyri **P** and **Q** also had this title, ἐγκώμια.

Enkomia, 'Songs of Praise', obviously suits the songs addressed to Alexander (fr. 20B) and Hieron (fr. 20C), but what about fr. 20A (Euenos and Marpessa) and fr. 20D (Niobe)? Both these songs contain 'negative' mythical examples which make it difficult to see how they could have served to praise the addressee. They must, however, have been relevant in some way to the person for whom they were composed, or to whom they were addressed; could it be, then, that fr. 20A was a kind of 'negative *enkomion*', as Snell 1952: 162 suggested, a song of censure or derision? As an example of this, Snell referred to Timokreon's song quoted by Plutarch (*Them.* 21 = *PMG* 727), which pretends to praise Aristides but then turns out to be an invective against Themistokles. Its short stanzas in dactylo-epitrites are very similar to those of Pindar's *enkomia* and particularly of Bacchylides' fr. 20B and fr. 20C.

The idea of the ambivalence of *enkomia*, which can be 'negative' (blame or derision) as well as 'positive' (praise) may appear less surprising when one considers the hellenistic definitions of the term, preserved in the *etymologica*. The *Et. Gen.* AB (= *EM* 311.26) says ἐγκώμιον . . . ὕβριζον τὸν ἀδικοῦντα, to which *Et. Gud.* 158.23 Sturz = 395.5 Stef. adds τὴν γὰρ νύκτα ἤρχοντό τινες καὶ ἔλεγον ὅστις ἐποίει κακὰ πράγματα καὶ ἐκακολόγουν αὐτοῦς . . . ἐγκώμιον ὁ λόγος μεμπτικός· ἐνίοτε καὶ ἐπαινετικός. This last definition even appears to imply that invective, not praise, was the original function of the *enkomion*, because it originated from the κῶμος ('carousal') as the song of those revellers (κωμάζοντες), cf. Hesych. κ 4827 κωμάζει· κῶμον . . . αἰδεῖ· ὑβρίζει.

FR. 20A

In papyrus **P**, this song is followed by the praise songs for Alexander and Hieron (frs. 20B and 20C), but it is obviously very different in character. Snell (1952: 162–3) plausibly suggested that all three may have been classified as *enkomia* on the assumption that these could contain, as the ancient etymologica suggest, censure as well as praise, see above. On this basis, he interprets the story of Euenos and Marpessa as a warning example of what might happen to an obstinate father who jealously guards his daughter indoors, preventing her from getting married. The subject of 4 [κ]αθημένη and 7 ἰκ[ε]τεύει, at any rate, appears to be a daughter who is angry with her father (? ἄχθε[ι]ται πατρί, 6) who keeps her isolated inside (μούνην ἔνδον ἔχω[ν, 11]). The situation reflected in the first two stanzas involves real, not mythical, persons; whether father and daughter were in any way personally relevant to the poet, possibly recalling the relationship of Lykambes and his daughter Neobulē with Archilochos, must remain uncertain. On the story of Euenos, Marpessa and Idas see introduction to ode 20.

The number of lines missing from the beginning of this poem can be established with a reasonable degree of confidence. The following considerations suggest that fr. 19 of papyrus **P** contains remains of the first stanza of *this* poem (fr. 20A.1–6), preceded by the end of the penultimate line of the preceding poem: (1) The metrical pattern of fr. 20A consists of three short verses, followed by one long, one shorter and one long verse; (2) pap. **P** fr. 19 belongs to the foot of a column; the ends of its last three lines fit the metre of verses 4–6 of this poem; (3) if the last six lines of this column were preceded by another stanza of the same metrical structure, the seventh line from the bottom would be long, the preceding line short – but it is the other way round. Therefore, not more than one stanza of fr. 20A can have formed the bottom part of this column, i.e. only the first three short verses are lost before v.4 [κ]αθημένη, and the line-end preserved five lines above [κ]αθημένη must belong to a different poem.

4 [κ]αθημένη: as Lysistrate says, when a woman is past her prime, nobody wants to marry her and she sits, looking for omens (οὐδεὶς ἐθέλει γῆμαι ταύτην, ὅττευομένη δὲ κάθηται, Ar. *Lys.* 597).

5 If fr. 41 of pap. **P** has been correctly placed here, one could try something like αἰσχύ[ν]ο[υ]σ' [ἀπαλὸν δέ]μας, cf. Stesich. *SLG* 15 col.2.15–16 ὥς ὄκα μ[ά]κω[ν,] ἄτε καταισχύνουσ' ἀπαλὸν [δέ]μας (suppl. Page); in Homer,

the verb is used to describe Achilles' reaction to the news of Patroklos' death: 'he took the dark dust and strewed it over his head and defiled his fair face . . . and with his own hands he tore and marred his hair', *Il.* 18.23–4 and 27.

6 ὑπέρ[μορ] ἄχθε]ται πατρί: supplied by Snell, who referred to Hes. *Th.* 155 σφετέρωι δ' ἡχθοντο τοκῇι. The adverbial form ὑπέρμορα is found only in *Il.* 2.155, elsewhere always ὑπέρμορον or ὑπὲρ μόρον.

7–9 ἵξ[ε]τέυει . . . νιν τελ[έσαι: the construction (acc. + inf.) is similar to that in *Il.* 9.454–6, although there it is the father who invokes the Erinyes: κατηρᾶτο . . . | μή ποτε γούνασιν οἷσιν ἐφέσσεσθαι φίλον υἷον | . . . θεοὶ δ' ἐτέλειον ἐπαράς. The same construction is used with λίσσεσθαι, cf. *Il.* 9.511–2 (the Λιταὶ) λίσσονται . . . Δία Κρονίωνα κιοῦσαι | τῶι Ἄτην ἄμ' ἐπεσθαι and B. 11.69–72.

καμ[: καμ[οῦσα (Snell) seems more likely than καμ[όντων (Maas), because there is no reason for the daughter to invoke the avenging spirits of the dead, as there is for Orestes (*Aesch. Cho.* 406 ἴδετε πολυκρατεῖς ἄραι φθινομένων); in her distress (καμ[οῦσα) she calls on the avenging spirits below, χ[θ]ονίας . . . [Ἀράς], cf. *Aesch. Eum.* 417 Ἄραι δ' ἐν οἴκοις γῆς ὑπαί.

χ[θ]ονίας 'below the earth', cf. *Soph. OC* 1568 ὦ χθόνια θεαί, 1727 τὰν χθόνιον ἐστίαν; of the Titans: Hes. *Th.* 697; of Hades: Hes. *Th.* 767; of the entrance to Hades: Pindar, *P.* 4.43. Elsewhere in early poetry, compounds like ὑποχθόνιος (Hes. *Op.* 141) or καταχθόνιος (γῆρας *Il.* 9.457) are used.

9–10 ὄξ[ύ]τερον . . . καὶ κατάρᾱ[τον: (στ[υ]γερὸν cannot be read): Archilochos and Theognis use the comparative ὄξύτερος in the sense of 'vehement', 'uncontrolled' (Archil. 196a.37 ἡ δὲ μάλ' ὄξυτέρη, Theognis 366 and 1030 of κραδίη), cf. ὄξύχολος Solon 13.26, ὀξυκάρδιος *Aesch. Sept.* 906. In B., however, it refers to γῆρας: the avenging spirits are to bring about a 'more painful old age' for the father. For ὄξύ in the sense of (physically) 'painful', see *Il.* 11.268–72, 16.518, Pind. *O.* 8.85, *P.* 3.97; in figurative sense in *Il.* 19.125 (ἄχος), *Od.* 19.517 (μελεδῶνες), Pind. *N.* 1.53 (ἀνία), *N.* 11.48 (ἄπροσικτων δ' ἐρώτων ὄξύτεραι μανία). In B., the comparative implies that old age, which is painful anyhow (ἀργαλέον, as Mimnermos insists, 1.20, 2.6, 5.2), shall be even more painful for the girl's father. Theognis, by contrast, complains from a father's perspective: 'The worst is . . . if someone has raised his sons and given them all they need, providing for them with much sacrifice, and then they hate their father, praying for his death' (τὸν πατέρ' ἐχθαίρουσι, καταρῶνται δ' ἀπολέσθαι, *Thgn.* 271–8).

10–11 A change of subject has to be assumed before line 11, and probably after κατάρα[τον, after which one could supply ὅστ' εἶργει κόρη]ν . . . ἔνδον ἔχω[ν γάμων (Kapp) or ὅστ' εἶργει γάμω]ν . . . ἔχω[ν κόρη]ν (Snell).

12 λε]υκαὶ δ' ἐν [κ]εφαλ[ῆ]ι ~ ~ ~ τ]ρίχες: whose hair? A marginal note, written on the right-hand side above τ]ρίχες, suggests that it refers to the girl's hair, τῆ]ς ὑπὸ πατρός ἐν [οἰκίαι κατεχομένης *vel sim.* The verb to be supplied may be γένοιτό οἱ, or (if this verse can end in ~ ~ ~) γενήσονται or χνοάζουσι(ν), for which see Soph. *OT* 742 (Laios was χνοάζων λευκανθὲς κάρα) and Metagenes fr. 4 (*PCG* vii 6) ἄρτι χνοαζούσας αὐλητρίδας. The motif of the unmarried daughter growing old and grey-haired in the home recurs in Eur. *Hel.* 283 and *Andr.* 347–8 (Hermione), cf. Ap. Rhod. 1.672 (the Lemnians).

13 Ἄρ]εος χρυσολόφου: Euenos was the son of Ares and Demonike (Apollod. 1.7.7). The epithet, 'gold-crested', is also found in Anakreon (*PMG* 346 frs. 11 + 3 + 6 line 18) and in the anonymous lemma in Hesych. χ 796 = *SH* 1118 χρυσόλοφοι δράκοντες. In ode 20.11, B. calls Euenos χρυσάσπιδος υἱὸν Ἄρηος. At this point, the mythical narrative is introduced, asyndetically, as a precedent or parallel to the father and daughter referred to in the first two stanzas; on its possible relevance, see above, p. 240.

14 λέγουσι: B. presents the story as a traditional tale, as he does in ode 5.57 and 155.

χαλκ{ε}ομίτραν: Pindar gives this epithet to Kastor in *N.* 10.90; there, too, the MSS' unmetrical χαλκεο– has to be corrected.

14–18 The distribution of epithets in this stanza highlights the contrast between father and daughter, which culminates in [τοι]οῦτον; it is accentuated by the partly parallel and partly 'chiastic' (inverted) arrangement of nouns/names and epithets: first, two appositions (παῖ[δα] . . . χαλκομίτραν ↔ [τα]νυπέπλοιο κόρης, AabB), then names and epithets in parallel (AaaBb), highlighting the extreme contrast between the heavily armed, brutal and bloodthirsty father and his long-robed, flowerbud-faced daughter.

16 θρασύχειρα 'bold of hand', only here and ode 2.4, where it is said of a boxer or pancratiast.

μιαί[φόνω]ν 'blood-soiled'. The epithet, always said of Ares in Homer (*Il.* 5.31, 455, etc.), is here given to a son of Ares, who nailed the skulls of his daughter's defeated suitors to the wall of his house (schol. Pind. *I.* 4.92a; see introd. to ode 20: (above, p. 220).

17 καλυκώπιδος ‘bud-eyed’; cf. Richardson on *h.Dem.* 8; see also B.17.95n. on λειρίων . . . ὀμμάτων.

18–20 χρόνος [ἐδά]μασσε κρατερὰ τ’ . . . ἀνάγκη ‘time subdued him and strong avenging necessity’. ‘Time’ defeated him in the end, after he had murdered many, and ‘Necessity’, because Fate had so decided; in fact, Euenos committed suicide by throwing himself into the river Lykormas (which was thereafter renamed Euenos), because he had failed to catch up with Idas when he abducted his daughter, Marpessa, on his chariot with winged horses, cf. Apollod. 1.7.8. Bacchylides seems to have told this story in ode 20.

ἐκ[δόμεν ο]ὔ θέλοντ(α) ‘unwilling to give her away’. The verb, ἐκδιδόναι, is standard in Greek marriage agreements (cf. Isaios 6.14; 8.8; *Dem. Or.* 59.122; *UPZ* 12.15), which state that the father ‘gives’ his daughter ‘out’ (sc. of his house).

22–3 Ποσειδαωνίας [ἵππους ὠκυδρόμ]ας ‘the swift-running horses he had from Poseidon’, who was Idas’s divine father, according to ‘many’ (κατὰ πολλούς), as Apollod. 3.10.3 says.

24 δλβιον τέκος: Idas is ‘fortunate’ because he has won a beautiful bride. The motif is known from Sappho 112; it may have been a *topos* in wedding songs.

25 ἐθέλουσαν δ]ὲ κόρην: Maas’s supplement is based on the two hexameters which Pausanias quotes in his description of the ‘chest’ of Kypselos (5.18.2): Ἴδας Μαρπήσσαν καλλίσφυρον, ἃν οἱ Ἀπόλλων | ἄρπασε, τὰν Εὐάνου ἄγει πάλιν οὐκ ἀέκουσαν ‘Idas is bringing home Marpessa of beautiful ankles, whom Apollo snatched from him, Euenos’ daughter, who was not unwilling’.

FR. 20B: FOR ALEXANDER, SON OF AMYNTAS

A substantial part (fr.1) of papyrus **P** overlaps with the quotation of lines 6–16 of the poem in Athenaios’ *Epitome* 2.39e (1 p.92 Kaibel). Since the publication of pap. **P** by Grenfell and Hunt in 1915, eight more fragments of the same papyrus, most of them small scraps (frs. 2 + 3 + 22 + 39 + 25, 20 + 23, 26), have been placed within the same poem and partly joined to fr.1. The result has been that the first 16 lines are practically complete, lines 17–20 can be partly reconstructed, while lines 21–35 of the papyrus are still too fragmentary to yield any continuous sense and have therefore been omitted here. What remains of lines 33–5 appears to be

in a different metre and probably represents the beginning of the next poem.

Fr. 20B, in four-line stanzas in dactylo-epitrites, fits the category of *enkomia* admirably, as do the remains of Pindar's song of praise for the same addressee, frs. 120 and 121. This Alexander is a Macedonian prince, son of king Amyntas I, who succeeded his father in about 495 BCE and ruled Macedonia for over forty years until his death in 452. His exact dates cannot be established with absolute certainty; Hammond and Griffith argue that he ascended the throne in c.495 (*History of Macedonia* II p.104). Alexander was later given the honorific title φιλέλλην ('friendly to Greeks') because during the Persian Wars, when his kingdom was a satellite of the Persian Empire, he repeatedly tried to mediate between the Greek states and Mardonios, the commander of Xerxes' army: see especially Hdt. 8.136–144 on the events in the spring of 479 BCE. Herodotos (5.17–22) also has a story about how young Alexander, when Persian nobles came to demand that his father Amyntas submit to Persian rule, had them murdered at a banquet given in their honour, but this story has the hallmarks of popular legend, 'designed to prove the patriotism of Alexander, the faithful friend of Athens' (How and Wells ad loc.). The fact is that Alexander remained a vassal of Dareios, paid tribute to the Persians and even gave his sister, Gygaia, to Bubares, the son of Dareios' general Megabazos, in marriage. 'Alexander was doubtless anxious to gain influence at the Persian court. It seems more likely that the marriage of his sister to a Persian grandee, which cast a slur on his phil-Hellenism, caused the invention of the tale that he murdered the envoys, than that the murder of the envoys was really hushed up by the marriage' (How and Wells on Hdt. 5.21).

More trustworthy is Herodotos' statement (5.22) that Alexander asked to compete in the Olympic Games, and when his Greek competitors objected on the grounds that only Hellenes were entitled to take part, he succeeded in convincing the judges of the Argive origin of his family. He was admitted and competed in the foot-race (στάδιον) which ended in a dead heat. He seems to have competed in another discipline as well, if we are to believe Justin 7.2.14 (*Olympio certamine vario ludicrorum genere contenderet*), perhaps in the pentathlon. As Pindar addresses him as παῖ θρασύμηδης (fr. 120.2), one might think of a discipline involving wrestling, boxing or pankration, probably in the 70th or 71st Olympic Games (500 or 496), before his accession, because it seems hardly credible that he would have competed in the games as ruling king of Macedonia (see Hammond and Griffith, *History*

of Macedonia 11 60). In fact, in both Bacchylides' poem (fr. 20B.17) and in Pindar's fr. 120 he is addressed with ὦ παῖ, and there are no indications in either poem that he was already then ruler of his country.

The implication must be that both poems belong to the period before c.495, Alexander's accession to the Macedonian throne, and that Bacchylides' fr. 20B and Pindar's fr. 120 are therefore among the earliest datable poems of either poet.

1–3 ὦ βάρβριτε . . . δεῦρ' ἐς ἑμᾶς χέρας: B. addresses the instrument like a living creature. The anonymous singer of the Attic drinking song *PMG* 900 (= Fabbro, *Carmina convivialia* 17) often wishes to become a lyre himself: εἴθε λύρα καλὴ γενοίμην ἐλεφαντίνῃ | καὶ με καλοὶ παῖδες φέροιεν Διονύσιον ἐς χορόν. This instrument (ὁ βάρβριτος or τὸ βάρβριτον) was said to have been invented either by Anacreon or by Sappho; both are credited with its invention by Neanthes (? the historian from Kyzikos in the second century BCE), quoted in Athen. 4.175d (cf. *AP* 7.25 on Anacreon who βάρβριτον οὐδὲ θανῶν εὐνασεν εἰν Ἀῖδῃ) and 4.182f = *PMG* 472. Pindar, however, claims that Terpander invented it, fr. 125. The instrument was narrower and longer than the lyra or kithara. On vases it is usually shown with seven strings, occasionally with more (see below on 2); it is already found on some black-figure vases, e.g. on a plate of c.510 BCE by the painter Psiax in the Kappeli collection, *ABV* 294.21 (Appendix No. 41); on an amphora in London: B214, *ABV* 141, Paquette 185 (B19); on an amphora of c.510–500 BCE in Munich: inv.1416, *ABV* 367.90 (Appendix no. 42); then very frequently on red-figure vases in the first half of the fifth century when it must have been very popular, more rarely after c.450; see West, *Ancient Greek music* 57–9; Michaelides, *Music* 48–9; Paquette, *L'instrument de musique* 173–85; Maas and McIntosh-Snyder, *Stringed instruments* 113–38.

1 πᾶσσαλον: B. may be thinking of Alkinoos' palace in *Od.* 8.67, where the lyre (φόρμιγξ) is appended on a peg in the wall, which can also be seen on vases; cf. also Pind. *O.* 1.17–18 and *PMG* 974.

2 ἑπτάτονον: Ion of Chios says (fr. 32 W.) that the lyre had seven strings in the old days, but eleven in his own time. For references to these instruments (lyre and barbiton) shown on vases see Wegner, *Musikleben* 222–6.

κάππαυε 'suppress, hold down', as if the instrument had a life of its own and an urge to sing which it finds hard to suppress. See above on 1–3.

3–4 τι . . . Μουσᾶν . . . πτερὸν: the idea that a song has wings, because it travels over land and sea like a bird, is also familiar to Pindar, cf. *I.* 5.64

πτερόεντα νέον σύμπεμψον (i.e. together with the victor's crown) ὕμνον; Pindar even speaks of the 'wings of the Muses', *I.* 1.64–5 εἶη νιν (= the victor) εὐφώνων πτερύγεσσιν ἀερθέντ' ἀγλααῖς Πιερίδων; cf. Theognis 237–9 who says to Kyrnos: 'I have given you wings, on which to fly across the endless sea and all the earth with ease' (σοὶ μὲν ἐγὼ πτέρ' ἔδωκα, σὺν οἷς ἐπ' ἀπείρονα πόντον | πωτήσῃ καὶ γῆν πάσαν ἀειρόμενος | ῥήϊδίως). The Muses' chariot is also winged, Pind. *Paean* 7b.13. Other parallels in Pindar have been discussed by Bundy 82.

3 ὀρμαίνω τι πέμπ[ειν]: this is very similar to the opening stanza of fr. 20C; cf. also 5.9–16 and Pind. fr. 124ab. The 'willingness' motif provides a very obvious starting point for a poem of praise; Pindar, too, used it to begin his song for Theron of Akragas (fr. 118 Βούλομαι παιδεσσιν Ἑλλάνων [τι πέμψαι/δεῖξαι or the like), and may have done so also in his praise for the same Alexander, after the opening address (fr. 120).

5 συμποσ[ταί]σιν (Maas) or -[ταί]σιν (Grenfell & Hunt)? Pindar uses συμπόσιον only in the singular, but fem. συμποσίαι in the plural: *P.* 4.294 συμποσίας ἐφέπων, as in Alkaios 368.2. The καὶ links πτερόν and ἀγλαμα, not the datives.

[ἐν] εἰκάδεσ[τα]σιν: Grenfell and Hunt refer to Plutarch, *Non posse suaviter vivi* 4 (*Mor.* 1089c): 'to gather as from an official journal statistics about . . . where they drank Thasian wine, <or> on what twentieth of the month they had the most sumptuous dinner' (ἐξ ἐφημερίδων ἀναλέγεσθαι . . . ποῦ Θάσιον ἔπιον <ἢ> ποῖας εἰκάδος ἐδείπνησαν πολυτελέστατα) and to the testament of Epikouros in Diogenes Laertios 10.18: 'the meeting of all my School held every month on the twentieth day' (τὴν γενομένην σύνοδον ἐκάστου μηνὸς ταῖς εἰκάσι). These references suggest that the twentieth of each (?) month was popular as an occasion for private parties and festivities, but what exactly was being celebrated then we cannot tell. The twentieth day of the month may have had something to do with Apollon Eikadios, whose priestess was called Eikás, *EM* 298.1; cf. Nilsson, *Gri. Rel.* 1 611 n.3.

6–7 ἀ[παλόν] . . . θυμόν 'tender hearts'; the epithet ('soft, impressionable') has been supplied by Maas, cf. Archil. 191.3 κλέψας ἐκ στηθέων ἀπαλὰς φρένας. Maas had also thought of, and rejected, ἀ[ταλόν] – a child's, or a girl's, heart or mind (θυμός) may be ἀταλός, as is that of the boy Sogenes to whom Pindar's 7th *Nemean* is addressed, cf. lines 91–2 ἀταλὸν ἀμφέπων θυμὸν προγόνων. See also Denniston on Eur. *El.* 699.

γλυκεῖ' ἀνάγκη σευομενᾶν κυλίκων: 'constraint' is sweet because it is the 'compulsion of the speeding cups', as described by Kritias: ἔστ' ὅν

ὕδωρ οἴνωι συμμειγνύμενον κυλίκεσσιν | παῖς διαπομπεύηι προπρόσεις
ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ νωμῶν, fr. 8.6–7 (π p.98 G.-P.). Jebb, following Grenfell & Hunt,
took this to be an absolute genitive (‘as the cups go swiftly round’). This
seems unlikely, because (a) the genitive absolute is much more common in
prose than in poetry (see Chantraine, *GH* II 324; K-G II 110–11; Schwyzler
II 398–401), and (b) it remains unclear why ‘constraint’ (ἀνάγκη) is ‘sweet’.

6–8 Note the ‘chiasmic’ inversion of the subjects (ἀνάγκη . . . κυλίκων ~
Κύπριδος τ’ ἐλπίς) combined with the parallelism of the predicates
(θάλλησι θυμόν ~ δ<1>αἰθύσσει φρένας). The third stanza of fr. 20A
has a similar structure; see there on line 14. The subjunctives after εὔτε are
generalizing or iterative, ‘whenever’ or ‘each time’; a close parallel is *Od.*
7.202 (‘the gods always appear to us, the Phaeacians’) εὔτ’ ἔρδωμεν ἀγακ-
λειτὰς ἐκατόμβας, and similar examples with ὅτε and ὅππότε are listed in
Chantraine, *GH* II 256; cf. Schwyzler II 649 and 660–6.

7 θάλλησι θυμόν ‘warms their hearts’, as in fr. 4.78 θάλλει κέαρ, instead
of the Homeric ἰαίνειν (θυμός ἰάνθη *Il.* 23.600 etc.) which B. adopts in
13.220 and 17.131. The spelling of the subjunctive ending is –ησι, correctly
preserved in the MSS of Athenaios; the papyrus has θαλλησι, i.e. the first
iota was deleted by a corrector. See on 19.3–4.

8 Κύπριδος τ’ ἐλπίς δ<1>αἰθύσσει: Athen. has Κύπριδος ἐλπίς δ’
αἰθύσει, but the papyrus adds τ(ε) after Κύπριδος, which makes the
subjunctive (–σσει) necessary, in line with θάλλησι. The metre requires
– – – – –, so the line as quoted in Athen. omits one short syllable
after ἐλπίς: this, together with the odd δ’, strongly suggests διαἰθύσσει
(διαἰθύσσει Erfurdt, –σσει Blass). The verb (mostly in compounds: ἀνα–,
δια–, κατα–, παρα–, see Braswell on Pind. *P.* 4.83a) is related to αἶθειν
‘to kindle’; Chantraine, *Dict.* I 33 explains it as ‘présent expressif comme
l’indique le suff. –ύσω et qui s’emploie volontiers au figuré’. As to its
meaning, cf. Stanford, *Ambiguity* 132–6, esp. 134: ‘The word . . . combines
two distinct perceptions, movement and light, quivering and glistening’,
and 135 on Pind. *O.* 7.94–5 ἐν δὲ μιᾷ μοίρᾳ χρόνου | ἄλλοτ’ ἄλλοισι
διαἰθύσσουσιν αὔραι: ‘here more emphasis is on the movement than on
the light, but we may still detect a glint of Pindaric φέγγος in those veering
winds.’ In B., being placed parallel to θάλλησι, the verb probably indicates
intensification, in the sense that wine ‘warms’ the heart, the thought of love
‘glows’ (rather than ‘flashes’) through the mind.

9–10 ἀμειγνύμενα . . . ἀνδράσι δ’: Athenaios quotes ἀναμειγνύμενα
(ἀμειγνύ- Dindorf) Διονυσίοισι δώροις, ἀνδράσι δ’, but pap. **P** has ἀ

μειγνυμεν[. . .] | ἀνδρασιν, which would make Κύπριδος ἐλπίς the subject not only of line 8, but of lines 9–16 as well; this seems very unlikely, as the third stanza focusses on the gifts of Dionysos, not the hope for sex. Besides, if ἀμειγνυμένα is the original reading, it is more likely to have been corrupted to αμειγ– (→ & μειγ–) than the other way round. If, therefore, Athen. has preserved what is essentially the authentic reading, how can the mistake in the papyrus-text be accounted for? Perhaps the scribe, forgetting that a neuter plural noun (δῶρα) takes a verb in the singular, failed to recognize the change of subject.

10 ὑποτάτω: the drinker's thoughts soar up to heaven as the wine raises his spirits; Ion of Chios (*PMG* 744) calls wine ἀερσίνοον ἀνθρώπων πρύτανιν, 'the cheering master of men', and elegiac poets refer to the drinker's κοῦφος νόος, e.g. Theognis 497–8 Ἄφρονος ἀνδρὸς ὁμῶς καὶ σῶφρονος οἶνος, ὅταν δὴ | πίνῃ ὑπὲρ μέτρον, κοῦφον ἔθηκε νόον ('the witless and the sound of wit alike turn empty-headed when they drink too deep'), see van Groningen ad loc. The notion that tipsiness kindles the imagination, sending ambitious dreams sky-high, also occurs in Pindar, with a slightly different slant, fr. 124ab.5–11: 'When men's wearisome cares vanish from their breasts, and on a sea of golden wealth we all alike sail to an illusory shore; then the pauper is rich, while the wealthy . . . increase in their minds, overcome by the arrows of the vine' (ἄνικ' ἀνθρώπων καματώδεις οἷχωνται μέριμνα | στηθέων ἔξω· πελάγει δ' ἐν πολυχρύσοιο πλούτου | πάντες ἴσαι νέομεν ψευδῇ πρὸς ἀκτάν' | ὅς μὲν ἀχρήμων, ἀφνεὸς τότε, τοὶ δ' αὖ πλουτέοντες . . . [dream of power and glory?, and all] ἀέξονται φρένας ἀμπελίνους τόξοις δαμέντες); on the likely sense of the lines missing after line 8 see van Groningen, *Pindare au banquet* 97–9. The striking similarity between Pindar's song for Thrasyboulos and B.'s song for Alexander suggests that both poets are employing *topoi* of sympotic poetry of the kind which Aristophanes parodies in the *Knights*, where Demosthenes says to his fellow slave (92–4) 'Do you see? When people drink, then they are rich, successful, win their court-cases, are happy, help their friends' (ὄρᾱς; ὅταν πίνωσιν ἄνθρωποι, τότε | πλουτοῦσι, διαπράττουσι, νικῶσιν δίκας, | εὐδαιμονοῦσιν, ὠφελοῦσι τοὺς φίλους, quoted in Athen. 11.782c). Those who believe (with Körte 1918: 130; Wilamowitz, *Pindaros* 319; van Groningen, *Pindare au banquet* 100–2) that B. is here imitating Pindar's *enkōmion* for Thrasyboulos ignore not only the probable early date of B.'s poem, which makes their assumption almost impossible, but also the question of how one poet could have known the other's poem if one was performed in Sicily

and the other in Macedonia; van Groningen does at least address this question, speculating that the audience, a ‘public letter’, would have known the competitor’s (i.e., Pindar’s) poem because he would have circulated copies of it after its performance, and that other copies were also in circulation, in schools and in the hands of competing poets etc. There is not a shred of evidence for this; for the first decades, at least, of the fifth century BCE this kind of scenario seems utterly anachronistic.

11 πολίων κράδεμνα λύει: the image of the ‘battlements of cities’ is borrowed from Homer, cf. *Iliad* 16.100 Τροίης . . . κρήδεμνα λύωμεν, *Od.* 13.388 Τροίης λύομεν . . . κρήδεμνα, see also Richardson on *h.Dem.* 151. A similar metaphor is implied in the compound ευστέφανος applied to cities, as in *Il.* 19.99 and Hes. *Th.* 978, see West ad loc.

λύει: in Homer, the present and imperfect forms have short υ, except in *Od.* 7.74 and *Il.* 23.513 for the sake of the metre, see Chantraine, *GH* 1 372–3 and Wyatt, *Metrical lengthening* 209. It seems unnecessary to alter the verb to λύσειν (as Blass suggested).

12 ἀνθρώποις μοναρχήσιν: the verb is first found here and in Pindar, *Pae.* 4.29 and *P.* 4.165, but the noun, μοναρχία, is used by Alkaios 6.27, μούναρχος/μόναρχος by Solon 9.3 and Theognis 52.

13 ἐλέφαντι: B. may be thinking of Menelaos’ palace, which impressed Telemachos by its wealth, *Od.* 4.71–5. Ever since Mycenaean times, wealth had manifested itself through gold, silver and ivory (see Krzyszkowska, *Ivory*). In the *Odyssey*, for example, Odysseus’ gift is made of bronze, silver and ivory (8.403–5), Penelope’s chain is inlaid with ivory and silver (19.56), the bed with gold, silver and ivory (23.200); in the *Iliad*, cheek-pieces of a bridle, made of purple-stained ivory, are described as extremely precious (4.141–5, cf. 5.583); see also Sappho 44.8–10, Alkaios 350.1–2, Anakreon *PMG* 388.9–11; in a figurative sense, in Pindar, *N.* 7.78 (of the preciousness of his song).

14–16 πυροφόροι . . . πλοῦτον: the earliest explicit reference to merchants wishing to make a fortune from overseas trade is in Solon 13.43–4 ὁ μὲν κατὰ πλοῦτον ἄλῃται | ἐν νηυσὶν χρηίζων οἴκαδε κέρδος ἄγειν, although references to treasures brought home from overseas are already found in the *Odyssey* (4.81–5), and Alkaios’ brother Antimenidas brought back a precious scabbard of gold and ivory from Babylonia, fr. 350, on which see Page 1955: 223–4. Alkaios himself travelled to Egypt (fr. 432 = Strabo 1.37), as did Charaxos, Sappho’s brother (Sappho frs. 5 + 15b, see Page 1955: 45–51), presumably on business, and Solon, who went there κατ’

ἐμπορίαν ἄμα καὶ θεωρίαν according to Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.* 11.1). Greek merchants were allowed to settle at Naukratis, the colony founded in the Nile Delta by the Milesians in c.650 BCE, by Pharaoh Amasis (Amosis II Khnemibre, 570–526 BCE), cf. Hdt. 2.177–82; see Lloyd on 2.178–9 with bibliography. Lucrative trade with Egypt may have been a motif in New Comedy (Philemon?): see Plautus, *Mostellaria* 440 where the merchant Theopropides is returning from Egypt. However, evidence for the grain trade between Egypt and Greece is scarce before the fourth century; see Roebuck 1950: 236–47.

14 ἀλγλάεντα πόντον ‘a dazzling sea’; the epithet is given to Mount Olympus by Homer (*Il.* 1.532 etc.) and Soph. *Ant.* 610, to the Golden Fleece by Pindar, *P.* 4.231, and Ap. Rhod. 4.1142, even to a horse’s harness (Pind. *P.* 2.10), but never to the sea, although Homer once gives it a similar epithet, ἄλα μαρμαρέην (*Il.* 14.273).

16 ὥς πίνοντος ὀρμαίνει κέαρ: having first focussed on the young men who are thinking of sex (6–8), then on the various ambitions of adult men (10–16), the poet now brings the whole passage on ‘high hopes, kindled by wine’ to its conclusion. It is a variation on the Homeric formula ἦος ὁ ταῦθ’ ὀρμαίνει κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμόν (*Il.* 1.193 etc.), in that B. makes the heart subject: ‘thus (i.e. with such thoughts) ponders the drinker’s heart’; the verb is intransitive (the transitive form would be ὀρμαῖ, as in 18.41 and fr. 20D.3).

17 ᾧ π[αῖ]: here the second part of the song seems to begin, starting with an address to the prince himself which is appropriate for a young man, hardly for a ruling king. Admittedly, Hieron is addressed by Pindar (*P.* 2.18–20) as ᾧ Δεινομένειε παῖ, but then Pindar refers immediately to his power (διὰ τεὰν δύναμιν) as king of Syracuse.

μεγάλ[: the accents in the papyrus (μεγάλλ) show that this was part of a compound, such as μεγαλόκλεες (suggested by Snell, cf. 8.27 and fr. 62.10) or μεγαλοσθενές, which could refer to Alexander’s athletic ambitions; cf. Pind. *P.* 6.21–3 μεγαλοσθενεῖ . . . Πηλεΐδαι (= Achilles).

Ἀμύντα: supplied by Maas; the address ᾧ παῖ requires a patronymic, as in Pindar’s song for Alexander, fr. 120.2 παῖ θρασύμηδης Ἀμύντα. Before the name, one might expect an epithet of three long syllables, such as ὕψαυχρος (Snell) or ἐξείνοι (Schadewaldt).

18 . . .]ε (or]Σ): there are few supplements that will produce a dactylic word (– ~ ~) ending in either ε (i.e. εῖ, if hiatus was avoided) or ζ. One possibility is αἰε]ς, which might suggest something like (18–19) [αἰε]ς οὐ

π[ατέρων (π[ρογόνων ?) τοι]όν[δε κόμπον | ὅν σὺ] λάχ[ες] ‘you have not heard such praise of your ancestors as you yourself have received’; for τοιόνδε . . . ὅν (instead of οἶον) one could compare *Od.* 4.826–7 τοίη γάρ οἱ πομπὸς ἅμ’ ἔρχεται, ἦν τε καὶ ἄλλοι | ἄνδρες ἡρήσαντο, 2.286–7; cf. Theognis 95–8; Soph. *Ant.* 691; also in prose: Plato, *Phd.* 92b.

19]λάχ[ον·]τί (]λάχ[. . .]τι pap.): Snell thought that the accent was put to avoid confusion with λαχόντι, hence his supplement λάχ[ον·] which would be a third person plural; but it is difficult to see what its subject might be.

19–20 τί γάρ . . . κ[αλά] ‘for what greater gain is there for men than to gratify one’s heart with fine deeds?’ This was Snell’s tentative reconstruction, based on B. 3.83–4 ὅσια δρῶν εὐφραине θυμόν· τοῦτο γάρ | κερδέων ὑπέρτατον. For θυμῶι χαρίζεσθαι + acc., cf. Theognis 920, 1000, 1224 (θυμῶι δειλὰ χαριζομένη, sc. ὀργή: ‘anger gratifies the heart with bad things/consequences’).

After this line, there seem to be remains of three more stanzas (12 lines) before the next poem (in a different metre) begins – provided that Snell’s placements of frs. 2, 3, 20, 22, 23, 25, 26 and 39 of papyrus **P** are correct. The remains are too scanty to allow reconstruction.

FR. 20C: FOR HIERON OF SYRACUSE

Papyrus **P** fr. 4 preserves parts of the first twenty lines of a column. It is the beginning of a poem; its title is written to the left of its first line: [Ι]ερωῖ [Συ]ρακοσιωῖ (on Hieron, see the introduction to Ode 3, above p. 79). Since its publication, a number of smaller fragments have been joined or placed, nearly all of them by Snell, with the help of the metre and the fibre structure. They represent more than forty lines in total, of which 24 form one column, which is followed by remains of another 14 lines of the next column. Since the latter are extremely fragmentary, they have been omitted here.

The poem preserved in this column of pap. **P** and most of the next fits the pattern of *enkomia*, as does fr. 20B. It was destined to be performed at a symposion (line 6), ‘for Hieron and his chestnut horses’ (lines 3–4). This must be a reference to his victory in the chariot race, either at Delphi in 470 or at Olympia in 468, but as there seems to be no reference to the latter, line 4 is likely to refer to Hieron’s Pythian victory of 470, and the possible

date of this poem would seem to be not much later than 470. It is written in six (?) six-line stanzas in dactylo-epitrites.

1-2 Μήπω λιγυαχέ[α κοίμα] βάρβιτον': the papyrus has punctuation after βάρβιτον'. In view of μήπω, the verb to be supplied in the gap can only be a subjunctive (παύσω Maas, Körte) or imperative. Maas (1919: 37-41 = *Kl.Schr.* 28-33), having examined similar self-exhortations in Pindar, concludes that (a) the first-person singular subjunctive is used only after imperatives like ἄγε, φέρε etc. or after particles with imperative meaning, such as δεῦρο or εἶα, and (b) that the first-person plural subjunctive, though possible, would be hard to accommodate in the short gap which could only admit a verb like ἀνῶμεν or ἔῶμεν, which would be stylistically unconvincing. This leaves only an imperative: Maas' supplement κοίμα 'put to sleep' is based on Pindar, *N.* 10.21 ἀλλ' ὅμως εὐχορδον ἔγειρε λύραν and *AP* 7.25 (Simonides?) βάρβιτον οὐδὲ θανῶν εὔνασεν, which both imply the notion of the instrument being 'asleep' while not being played; κρήμνα (Edmonds) or rather κρίμνα is also possible, 'do not yet hang up the barbitos . . .'

2 μέλλ[ω]: cf. the very similar asyndeta ὀρμαίνω in fr. 20B.3 and ἐθέλει in ode 5.14.

3 ἄνθεμον Μουσᾶ[ν]: for 'flower' as a metaphor for song or poem, see on fr. 4. 63.

5 ἱμ[ερόεν]: the epithet is Homeric, cf. *Od.* 1.421 = 18.304 ἱμερόεσσαν ἄοιδήν, also 17.519, 23.144-5 etc.

7 Αἴ[τ]ναν: Pindar's first *Pythian* was also sent to Aitna for Hieron's celebration of this Delphic victory with the chariot in 470. Pindar's victory ode focusses as much on the establishment of his son, Deinomenes, as ruler or governor of the newly renamed city of Aitna (= Κατάνη, Catania) as on Hieron's chariot victory. His residence remained, however, at Syracuse, so that the Alexandrian editors of Pindar's and B.'s odes had no problem in describing him as a Syracusan. His celebration may have been a political gesture, a message that the powerful ruler of Syracuse was also in control of the city of Katane. That city had been founded, as Strabo 6.2.3 records, by the 'Naxians' of Tauromenion (Taormina, founded in the eighth century by Chalkidians and Naxians). Hieron uprooted the local Ionian population and resettled them at Leontinoi, while recruiting 5000 Dorians from the Peloponnese and another 5000 from Syracuse to replace them at Katane, which he renamed Aitna. He imposed a Doric constitution on them, as

schol. Pind. *P.* 1.118c (II p.20 Drachm.) states. The fullest account of this brutal act of ‘ethnic cleansing’, for which the original (‘Naxian’) Katanians later took their revenge, can be found in Diodoros 11.49, cf. Strabo 6.2.4.

ἔϋκτιτον: the conventional Homeric epithet appears particularly suggestive in this context, almost as a wish for good fortune; cf. Pind. *P.* 1.30–2 and 61–2.

7–8 εἰ κ[αὶ πρ]όσθεν ‘if ever before’, ‘since’; for εἰ in causal sense (Lat. *si quidem* ‘since’), cf. Pind. *O.* 1.18 and 9.26; B. 12.4; other examples are listed in LSJ s.v. B.VI.

8–10 τὸν . . . Φερ[ένικον . . .] . . . τε ν[ί]καν: whatever one might supply at the end of line 8 (ἔξευρόντα Πυθοῖ or ἐν Κίρραι θ’ ἔλόντα Barrett, ἐν Δελφοῖς θ’ ἔλόντα Snell), the τε in line 10 shows that *two* victories of Hieron’s famous racehorse Pherenikos are referred to here, i.e. in addition to his Olympic victory in 476 (9–10 ἐπ’ Ἀλ]φ[ε]ῶν) also a victory at Delphi, where Pherenikos had been successful in 478. For the supplement ἔξευρόντα one could quote Pind. *I.* 8.5 ἀέθλων . . . κράτος ἔξευρε, for ἔλόντα Pind. *P.* 3.74 στεφάνοις, τοὺς . . . Φερένικος ἔλεν Κίρραι ποτέ and *P.* 5.21 εὖχος . . . ἵπποις ἔλών.

10–13 The initial letters of these four lines are preserved in fr. 33 of pap. **P** which Snell placed here. The spacing in line 10 confirms that the papyrus had Αλ]φ[ε]ῶν, not -φ[ε]ῖω (Pindar always uses the spelling with -φε-, except in *O.* 7.15 where the metre requires a long syllable; B. spells it -φε- except in 8.27 and 13.193). In the margin to the right of line 10 are remains of a note: φερ[ε]

τ[.]ν[.]

which may have been Φερέ[νικος κέλ]ης Ἰέρωνος

τ[ο]ῦ Συ[ρακοσίων βασιλέως, or the like.

13–18 The gaps in the papyrus are too wide to make attempts at a reconstruction of these lines profitable. What seems reasonably probable is that τότε in line 13 ought to refer to a previous occasion (perhaps anticipated by εἰ κ[αὶ πρ]όσθεν in 7–8) when a song by B. had been performed in Hieron’s honour; the ‘maidens’ (κοῦραι) may be the Muses, or there may be a choir of girls (and boys ?) who sang ‘then’ (τότε), perhaps at Olympia: this assumption is behind Snell’s tentative suggestion σύν] ἐμοὶ τότε κοῦρά[ι τ’ ἡ]θεοι θ’] ὅσσοι Διὸς πάγχρ[υσον ἄλ]σος (= Olympia) | πᾶν βρύειν κώ]μο[ι]ς τ[ί]θεσαν ‘then with me (came ? sang ?) maidens (and youths) who made the all-gold (sanctuary) of Zeus (loud with celebration)’ ? The next

three lines may, as [δοσι]ς ἐπιχθονίων 17 would suggest, have contained a general statement leading on to the superlative praise for Hieron which follows in the fourth stanza.

14 πάγχρ[υσον: cf. Pind. *O.* 7.4 (a cup, φιάλη), *P.* 4.68 (the Golden Fleece).

19–20 τέχνη|αι . . . ἄμφ[οι | μυρία]ι: in choral lyric, this motif is often used as a foil leading up to a capping statement, as in *B.* 14.8–11 and 10.35–48, Pind. *O.* 11.7–10 (ἀφθόνητος δ' αἶνος . . . ἐκ θεοῦ δ' ἄνθρωπος κτλ.), *N.* 1.25–30, *N.* 3.38–40, *O.* 9.107–12, *P.* 1.81–6. These and similar passages are discussed by Bundy 15–16, who states that ‘a foil term may be subjective (or objective) when first introduced, but become objective (or subjective) before the capping term is reached . . . Although Bacch. frag. 20C.19f. are similarly ambiguous, I believe that the summary foil which they contain is subjective (at least with reference to the capping term introduced by σύν θεῷ δέ in line 20), just as in 14.8ff. the summary foil μυρία δ' ἀνδρῶν ἄρ[ε]ται κτλ. is subjective with reference to νῦν χρή in line 20. The laudator means to say, “Though the resources of art are boundless, I shall abandon all device and say simply and with confidence that the sun never looked on a better man”. But the audience, familiar with the conventions, will perceive the precise implication, “Whatever approach I take, I can’t please everybody, for each will have his own vision of Hieron’s greatness, but I know all will agree when I say . . .”’

20 σύν θεῷ ‘with god’s help’; ‘it contrasts inspirational with mechanical praise; the laudator will have recourse not to the devices of art . . . but to a natural and spontaneous enthusiasm that is divinely inspired’, Bundy 16.

θ[α]ρσ[ύ]σας πιφάσκω (Maas, cf. *B.* 5.42, or θροήσω Schadewaldt): this kind of phrase often introduces a statement amounting to a superlative, as in *B.* 1.159–60; see also on *B.* 11.24.

21 οὔτι|ν' . . . ἔ|τερον καθορᾷ: cf. Pind. *P.* 2.58–61 εἰ δέ τις . . . λέγει ἕτερον τιν' ἂν Ἑλλάδα . . . γενέσθαι ὑπέρτερον κτλ.; for other variations of the phrase ‘the best/most beautiful etc. under the sun’ cf. Sappho 56, Eur. *Hec.* 635–7, Kall. *h.* 3.249–50, and possibly Ibykos (?), *SLG* 166 fr.1.23–5.

23–24 τόσφ[ο]ν . . . φέγγος κατ' ἀνθρώπ[ους φέρουσα: Snell’s supplement links τόσφ[ο]ν with οὔτι|ν' (21), ‘no other man so great’. Maas suggested κατ' ἀνθρώπ[ων χέοντα, which would make Hieron subject, τόσφ[ο]ν . . . φέγγος the object of χέοντα and a metaphor for ‘blessing, joy’: ‘(dawn) looks down at no other man who has showered mankind with

so much light'. Although word-order would favour Maas's suggestion, it seems difficult to see in what sense Hieron could have 'showered *mankind*' with joy, glory, or benefactions: if this were what B. wanted to say, he would probably have said 'his people', or 'the Syracusans'. Snell's supplement may therefore be preferable, 'dawn that brings light to men never saw a greater man'.

FR. 20D

1. *Text and metre*

Of this poem, only about eleven lines are sufficiently well preserved to reveal their content. They are contained in two papyri, **P** and **Q**, though in divergent colometry; **P** fr. 36 overlaps with lines 10–12 (= **Q** col.ii 9–11), and **P** 'new fragment 2' (*POxy.* 2081e. fr. 2) contains remains of two lines of text separated by five lines of a scholion which refers to line 6 of this poem, where the number of Niobe's children is given as ten sons and [ten] daughters: 6–7 δέκα τ' ἡϊθέους δ[έκα τ' εὐπλό]κου[ς ἄμα | κο<ύ>ρας, in agreement with a statement in Gellius, *N.A.* 20.7 *Homerus pueros puellasque eius* (= Niobe's) *bis senos dicit fuisse, Sappho bis novenos, Bacchylides et Pindarus bis denos*. With the supplements suggested by Lobel and Snell, this 'new fragment 2' can be reconstructed as follows:

]KAMOY[
 αντιλογί]α εστιν περι [του αριθμου
 ομ^η φη γ]εγενησθαι εξ [ιους και εξ
 θυγατ]ερας, επτα και [επτα ευ-
 ριπιδ]ης, δεκα και δ[εκα βακχυ-
 λιδη]ς και Π[ι]ν[δ]αρος [
]ΤΕ[]ΡΟΜΕ[

The five lines of the scholion, in small script, occupy the space to the right of three lines of the main text, between two rather long lines. This cannot, however, be reconciled with the text as it stands in pap. **Q**: it seems therefore that the colometry in pap. **P** was different from that in pap. **Q** (this would not be a unique case; another example of divergent colometries is B. 24). W. S. Barrett, in a letter to B. Snell, suggested the following reconstruction of lines 6–10 in pap. **P**:

ΠΑΙΔΕΣΔΕΚΑΤΗΘΕΟΥΣΔΕΚΑΤΕΥΠΛΟ]ΚΆΜΟΥ[ΣΑΜΑ
 ΚΟ<Υ>ΡΑΣΤΑΝΥΑΚΕΣΙΝΙΟΙΣ·
 ΤΑΝΔΕΠΑΤΗΡΕΣΙΔΩΝ
 ΥΨΙΖΥΓΟΣΟΥΡΑΝΟΘΕΝ
 ΖΕΥΣΕΛΕΗΣΕΝΑΝΑΚΕΣΤΟΙΣΚΑΤΑ]ΤΕ[Ι]ΡΟΜΕ[ΝΑΝ
 ΑΧΕΣΙΝ ΚΤΛ.

Barrett also suggested altering εὐπλο]κάμου[ς to εὐπλόκους because sequences of more than three dactyls are not found in choral lyric dactyloepitrites (for compounds of -πλόκος corrupted to -πλόκαμος in Pindaric MSS, see *O.* 6.30 and *I.* 7.23), and εἰσιδών (8) to ἐσιδών. We would thus get a strophe of 9 lines (against 8 as in **Q**):

| | |
|------------------------------|------------------------|
| —υ—υ—υ—υ—[υ υ —(—)? | e — D(—) |
| —υ—υ—υ—υ—[— — | — E — |
| —υ—υ—υ—υ—[υ υ —] υ — [υ υ | — D d ² υ e |
| —υ—υ—υ—υ— | — D — |
| —υ—υ—υ— | D |
| —υ—υ—υ—[υ — | — D |
| —υ—υ—υ—υ—[— υ υ] — υ υ — | D — D |
| υ υ —υ—υ—υ—υ—υ—[υ | d ² — D — |
| —υ—υ—υ—υ—υ—[— υ — (—) | E — e (—) |

The punctuation after ἰοῖς· (7) seems to favour this colometry; it would also provide space for a suitable participle in line 9 to accommodate ἄχρεσιν (10). All in all, Barrett's reconstruction of the colometry in pap. **P** has a good chance of being correct.

2. *The myth*

From line 3 to line 11 the poet tells the sad story of Niobe and the death of her children (on the function of this poem as a 'negative enkomion', see above, p. 239). As this section begins with οὐδέ, and as there seems to be no space for a verb at the end of line 4, Νιόβα [γενεάν (or Νιόβα[ς γενεά ?) may be the subject (or object) of a verb in the preceding stanza (see below on line 4), in which a story of a similar nature may have been told, possibly about a 'good-looking wife' (εὐειδῆς ἄλοχος, 2). Who can she be? Lobel, following the clue of ΟΙΝ[in the papyrus, initially thought of Oinone

(ἄλοχος Π[άριος, cf. Apollod. 3.12.6 and Diod. 4.34) who threw herself from a tower, according to Lykophron (*Alex.* 65–6), or hanged herself when she learned of Paris’ death (Konon 23 = *FGrHist* 26 F 1; Parthenios 4, cf. Hellanikos *FGrHist* 4 F 29), or burned herself to death on Paris’ funeral pyre (Quint. Smyrn. 10.466–8). On second thoughts, however, Lobel rejected this idea on the grounds that Oinone had nothing in common with Niobe; instead, he suggested Althaia, the wife of Oineus (ἄλοχος Οἰν[ῆος): ‘The parallel will be between mothers who by their own action caused the death, the one of her son, the other of her whole family’ (*Ox.Pap.* xxiii p.25).

Although this connection appears possible, an explicit reference to Althaia’s beauty seems odd, not only because there is no other evidence for it, but above all because it would have no function in the context of the Meleager myth. There is, however, a third possibility which may deserve consideration: could she be Meleager’s wife, the ‘beautiful Kleopatra’ (καλὴ Κλεοπάτρα, *Il.* 9.556), who urged him to go on his ‘last path’, i.e. into battle against the Kouretes (*Il.* 9.590–1 Μελέαγρον ἐϋζωνος παράκοιτις | λίσσετ’ ὄδυρομένη), where he was to be killed by Apollo? Cf. [Hes.] fr. 25.12–13; 280.2; Minyas *PEG* fr.5 = Paus. 10.31.3; Ant. Lib. 2.5. In this case, ὠρμασεν would be transitive: 2–3 Μ[ελέαγρον] | λοισθίαν ὠρμασεν Οἰν[εῖδαν κέλευθον ‘she drove Meleager, Oineus’ son, onto his last path’, cf. *Il.* 6.338–9 where Paris says to Hektor νῦν δέ με παρειποῦσ’ ἄλοχος μαλακοῖς ἐπέεσσιν | ὠρμησ’ ἐς πόλεμον. The link to the Niobe story would be that she unwittingly caused her husband’s death, as Niobe caused the death of her children; both grieve unconsolably, Kleopatra hangs herself (Apollod. 1.8.3 and Ant. Lib. 2.5).

On the Niobe myth, see Barrett, *Niobe*.

2 .οθεν: of the first letter, only the foot of an upright remains which descends below the line; Lobel therefore suggested ὤ–|| ψοθεν (which he took to be a reference to hanging oneself, see above). But τ seems also possible (τῶθεν); although τ does not normally descend below the level of the other letters, it does in fr. 6 of this papyrus (**Q**, see *Ox.Pap.* xxiii pl.5) at the beginning of a line.

3 λοισθίαν . . . [κέλευθον or ὁδόν? So (without article) Eur. *Alc.* 610 ὑστάτην ὁδόν, *Med.* 1067 τλημονεστάτην ὁδόν, *Ion* 1226 ἀθλίαν ὁδόν (with article: Soph. *Ant.* 807 τὰν νεάταν ὁδόν, *Tr.* 874–5 τὴν πανυστάτην | ὁδῶν ἅπασῶν).

ὥρμασεν Οἶν[εῖδαν] ‘she urged the son of Oineus on’?, cf. Ap.Rhod. 1.190–1 Οἶνεΐδης . . . ὀφορμηθεὶς Καλυδῶνος | ἀλκίης Μελέαγρος, *SH* 970 = *PBrux.* II col.ii 20 Οἶνεΐδης Μελέαγρος. For transitive ὀρμαῖν, cf. *Il.* 6.338 (quoted above), *B.* 18.41, *Thuc.* 1.87.2 ἐς τὸ πολεμεῖν . . . ὀρμήσαι, 1.127 (Pericles) ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ὥρμα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, 2.20.4 (the Acharnians) ὀρμήσειν καὶ τοὺς πάντας ἐς μάχην.

4 τλαπενθής: not elsewhere attested, but cf. τολαπενθής 5.157 and 16.26, and *Od.* 5.222 (Odysseus) τλήσομαι ἐν στήθεσσιν ἔχων τολαπενθέα θυμόν.

Νιόβα[~ ~ (– ?): in the next line, τὰν ὤλεσαν cannot refer to Niobe, because Apollo and Artemis killed not her, but her children; Lobel therefore suggested Νιόβα [γενεάν (or perhaps -ᾱς or -ᾱι, depending on the verb to be supplied), rather than Νιόβα[ς γενεά, because τλαπενθής seems much more suitable for Niobe herself than for her children. The verb may have been something like ‘she could not save’, or ‘she could not bear to see destroyed’: either would be suitable also for Kleopatra, see above.

5–6 Λατοῦς . . . παῖδες: ἄγαλός ‘noble’ is usually said of kings and heroes, rarely of gods: Persephone in *Od.* 11.226, the Olympic gods in *Hes. Th.* 461, the Titans in *Th.* 632, Lachesis in *Isyllos’ Paean* 54 (*Coll. Alex.* p.134 = Käppel, *Paian* 382 = Furley and Bremer II 183).

6–9 On the possibility of reconciling the text of pap. Q with that of pap. P (*POxy.* 2081e ‘new fragment 2’) see above, p. 255.

6 δέκα: in poetry and in the mythographers, the number of Niobe’s children varied from five to twenty. The lowest number, two + three, is given by Herodotos, *FGHist* 31 F 56 = Apollod. 3.5.6 δύο μὲν ἄρρενας, τρεῖς δὲ θηλείας (but one MS has τέσσαρας μὲν ἄρρενας, apparently to bring the numbers into line with those in Hellanikos, *FGHist* 4 F 21: four + three); six + six *Il.* 24.603–4 and Pherekydes, *FGHist* 3 F 126 (with names), seven + seven Lasos, *PMG* 706 = Aelian, *VH.* 12.36, Aesch. fr. 167b, Soph. fr. 446, Eur. fr. 453 (= schol. Eur. *Pho.* 159), Aristoph. fr. 294 (*PCG* III 2, p.166), Apollod. 3.5.6; nine + nine Sappho fr. 205 = Gellius, *N.A.* 20.7, ten + ten [Hes.] fr. 183, Mimnermos fr. 19, Pindar *Paian* 13 (cf. Aelian, *VH.* 12.36), and perhaps Alkman *PMG* 75 = 214 Calame (= Aelian, *VH.* 12.36 Ἀλκμῶν δέκα φησί, which Barrett believes to be a misunderstanding of ‘ten sons’ or ‘ten daughters’ as ‘ten children’, *Niobe* 227 n.130).

7 τανυάκεσιν ἰοῖς: τανυήκης/ταναήκης ‘with long edge’ is said of swords or spears in Homer (*Il.* 14.385 etc., once of an axe: *Il.* 23.118, once also of branches in a simile: *Il.* 16.765–9, which evokes the image of missiles flying

to and fro, ‘a fine example of interaction between a simile’s diction and its context’, Janko ad loc.). Cf. τανυγλώχινας ὄϊστούς *Il.* 8.297 and *AP* 7.443 (Simonides), Quint. Smyrn. 6.463, Nonnos 22.324.

8 ὑψίζυγος ‘high-throned’ is a Homeric epithet of Zeus (*Il.* 14.166 etc.); also Hes. *Op.* 18, B. 1.155–6 and 11.2–3.

10–11 ὀκριόεντ[α] λαῶν ‘a jagged rock’; in Homer, the epithet is said of stones which kill (*Il.* 12.380, 16.735–9, *Od.* 9.499) or wound (*Il.* 8.327) fighters. In B. it seems designed to create compassion with Niobe. According to Pherekydes (*FGH* 3 F 38) and Apollod. 3.5.6, who may both reflect Sophocles’ *Niobe* (see Barrett, *Niobe* 224), it was Niobe herself who prayed to be turned into stone; B. agrees with schol. A on *Il.* 24.602 θρηνοῦσαν οὖν τὴν Νιόβην τὸ τοιοῦτο δυστύχημα Ζεὺς ἐλεήσας εἰς λίθον μετέβαλεν κτλ. (the story is there attributed to Euphorion, but it is not certain that all of it comes from this source).

12 οὐδ[: another mythical example of a similar nature may have filled the next stanza.

APPENDIX: VASES REFERRED TO IN THE COMMENTARY

- 1 Paris, Louvre G 197** (amphora by Myson); *ARV*² 238; *Para* 349; *Add.* 201; Boardman, *ARFV* fig.171; Simon, *Vasen* pll. 132–3
- 2 Corinth, Mus. T.1144** (fragments of Attic hydria); *ARV*² 571.74; Beazley 1955 pl. 85
- 3 Châtillon-sur-Seine, Musée** (bronze crater from Vix); Joffroy, *Le trésor de Vix*; Richter, *Handbook of Greek art* 215–16, figs. 302 and 303
- 4 Florence, Mus. Arch. 4209** (volute crater, ‘François Vase’); *ABV* 76.1; *Para* 29; *Add.* 21; Simon, *Vasen* pll. 52–7
- 5 Bollingen** (Switzerland), **R. Blatter collection** (fr. of b/f dinos); R. Blatter, ‘Dinosfragmente mit der kalydonischen Eberjagd’, *AntK* 5 (1962) 45–7 pl.16.1 + 3; *Para* 42; Schefold, *Myth and legend* pl. 61b; *LIMC* vi 416 no.9
- 6 Naples, Nat. Mus., Coll. Santangelo 99** (black-figure lekythos); Fairbanks, *Athenian lekythoi* 32 no.7 and pl. 2.1
- 7 Rome, Vatican, Coll. Astarita A 565** (Corinthian crater); Amyx, *Corinthian vase-painting* 1 264; ii 576; iii pll. 116 and 117; *LIMC* vii 837 no.3; 911 no.1; Beazley 1957: 233–44 and pll. 11–16; Schefold, *Myth and legend* 86 pl. 72
- 8 Athens, Museum of the Argive Heraion** (fragments of early Attic dinos from the Heraion at Argos); J. M. Cook, *BSA* 35 (1934–5) 191; Brommer, *Vasenlisten* p. 156 (A.63); Brommer, *Herakles* ii 51; C. Dugas, ‘La mort du centaure Nessos’, *RÉA* 45 (1943) 18–26 pl.19.3; Gentili, *Bacchilide* 51f.; March, *Creative poet* 53f. and pl. 20; *LIMC* vi 843 no. 89
- 9 Cerveteri** (hydria from Caere, formerly in Rome, Villa Giulia); Hemelrijk 30–1 no.16 fig. 21 and pl.70; March, *Creative poet* 54 and pl.23a
- 10 Paris, Louvre C 10228** (hydria from Caere); Hemelrijk 31–2 no.17 fig. 22 and pll. 72–3; Schefold, *Gods and heroes* 160 fig.197; March, *Creative poet* p.54 and pl. 23b
- 11 Rome, Villa Giulia** (hydria from Caere); Hemelrijk p.36 no. 20B fig. 27 and pl.82; *LIMC* vi 842 no.80

- 12 Basel, Antikenmuseum, Käppeli collection 601**
(relief-decorated amphora); Schefold, *Myth and legend* pl. 25a;
Brommer, *Theseus* pl.26; *LMC* vi 576–7 no.33
- 13 Paris, Louvre G 104** (r/f kylix); *ARV*² 318.1 + 1645; *Para* 358; *Add.*
214; Boardman, *ARFV* fig. 223; Brommer, *Theseus* 78f. and pl.22;
Neils no.15; *LMC* i 730 no.75
- 14 New York, MMA 53.11.4** (r/f kylix); *ARV*² 406.7; Neils no.59
(fig.48 on pl.10); *LMC* i 730 no.76
- 15 Zürich, University Archaeol. collection L5** (amphora); *ARV*²
1656.2bis; C. Isler-Kerenyi, *Lieblinge der Meermädchen* (Zürich 1977)
fig. 1b, 7a, 8ab, 16ab; J. M. Barringer, *Divine escorts* 174 no.14 and
pll.150–5
- 16 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles 418**
(calyx crater); *ARV*² 260.2; *Add.* 204; Neils no.47 (fig.40 pl.9);
Brommer, *Theseus* 80 fig.12; *LMC* i 730 no.77; vi 815 no.426; vii 939
no.221
- 17 Cambridge/Mass., Harvard University, Fogg Art Museum**
1960.339 (column crater); *ARV*² 274.39; *Add.* 207; Neils no.48 (fig.41
pl.9); *LMC* i 730 no.78
- 18 Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 2695** (pelike); *ARV*²
362.19; *Add.* 222; Brommer, *Theseus* pl.23a; Neils no.65; *LMC* i 730
no.78a; vii 939 no.222
- 19 Bologna, Museo Civico 303**; *ARV*² 1184.6; *Para* 460; *Add.* 341;
Brommer, *Theseus* pl.23b; Neils no.143; *LMC* i 731 no.79
- 20 Paris, Louvre MNC 675** (Boiotian skyphos); Dugas, *REG* 56
(1943) 6–7 and fig.4; Dugas and Flacelière, *Thésée* pl.1; *LMC* iii 1055
no.35
- 21 Athens, Nat. Mus. 15499** (dinos by Sophilos); *ABV* 39.16;
Boardman, *BFA* fig.26; Schefold, *Myth and legend* 90 and pl.vi;
G. Bakır, *Sophilos* 65 (A.3, fig.10 pl.6); Simon, *Vasen* pl.50
- 22 Madrid, Mus. Arqueol. 11265** (kylix); *ARV*² 174.1; *Add.* 339;
Brommer, *Theseus* pll.15ab, 16ab, 48b; Simon, *Vasen* pll.221–223;
Neils no.129 (figs.82–4 pl.17); *LMC* vii 928 no.52 (outside), 941
no.240 (inside)
- 23 Athens, Nat. Mus., Akropolis Museum 1280** (b/f skyphos);
ABL 249.1; Neils no.29; *LMC* vii 929 no.62 (= 931 no.99; 947
no.308)

- 24 Toledo/Ohio 63.27** (b/f skyphos); *Para* 257; *Add.* 129f.; Boardman, *BFVA* fig.245.1–2; *LIMC* vii 931 no.97
- 25 Laon, Musée 37.996** (b/f skyphos); *ABL* 249.2; *Para* 255.2; *LIMC* vii 931 no.98
- 26 London, BM, E 36** (r/f kylix); *ARV*² 115.3; Brommer, *Theseus* pl.8a; Neils no.4 (figs.12–13 pl.3); *LIMC* vii 926 no.34
- 27 London, BM, E 48** (r/f kylix); *ARV*² 431.47; Brommer, *Theseus* pl.9ab; Neils no.55 (figs.43–5 pl.9); *LIMC* vii 927 no.39
- 28 Oxford, Ashmol. Mus. 1937.983** (calyx crater); *ARV*² 1153.13; *Para* 457; *Add.* 336; Brommer, *Theseus* pl.34; Schefold, *Göttersage* 88 fig.112; *LIMC* vii 928 no.50
- 29 Munich 2565** (r/f kantharos); *ARV*² 889.169; *Add.* 302; Neils no.97; *CVA* 2 (Germany 6) pl.93.3–4
- 30 Sydney 49.64** (bell crater); Pryce (1936) pl.5
- 31 Munich 585** (north-ionic amphora); Schefold, *Gods and heroes* 25 fig.19; Steinhart, *Das Motiv des Auges* 121 and pl.46; Yalouris, *Le mythe d'Io* no.2 fig.2; *LIMC* v 667 no.31
- 32 London, BM 1848.6–19.4** (amphora); *ABV* 148.2; *Add.* 41; Boardman, *BFVA* fig.107; Schefold, *Gods and heroes* 26 fig.20
- 33 Paris, Louvre G 229** (pelike); *ARV*² 289.3; *Add.* 210; Yalouris, *Le mythe d'Io* no.9 fig.6; *LIMC* v 666 no.25
- 34 Vienna, Kunsthst. Mus.** iv 3729 (stamnos); *ARV*² 288.1; *Add.* 209; March, *Dict.* 216 fig.77; Yalouris, *Le mythe d'Io* no.8 fig.5; *LIMC* v 665 no.13
- 35 Naples, Nat. Mus., ex Spinelli 2041** (pelike); *ARV*² 1122; *Add.* 332; Yalouris, *Le mythe d'Io* no.14 fig.8; *LIMC* v 669 no.62
- 36 Palermo, Fond. Mormino 178** (skyphos); *ARV*² 1689; *LIMC* v 667–8 no. 39
- 37 Boston, MFA 1901.562** (Lucanian jug); Trendall, *The red-figured vases of Lucania, Campania and Sicily* (1967) 16.9; Yalouris no.13 fig.17; *LIMC* v 667.33
- 38 Munich 2417** (psykter); *ARV*² 556.101 *Para* 387.188; *Add.* 258; Schefold, *Göttersage* 189 figs.253–4; Boardman, *ARFV* fig.338.1–2; March, *Dict.* 213 fig.76; *LIMC* vi 365 no.2
- 39 Florence, Mus. Arch. 19B 41 + Paris, Louvre C 10834** (stamnos); *ARV*² 191.100 + 361.3; *Add.* 222; *LIMC* vi 365 no.3
- 40 London, BM 95.10–31.1** (amphora); *ARV*² 583.1

- 41** **Basel, Antikenmuseum, Käppeli collection 421** (b/f plate by Psiax); *ABV* 294.21; *Para* 128; *Add.* 77; Paquette, *L'instrument de musique* 185 (B19)
- 42** **Munich 1416** (amphora); *ABV* 367.90; *Add.* 98; Wegner, *Musikleben* pl.9; Paquette, *L'instrument de musique* 203B

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INDEXES

I. SUBJECTS AND NAMES

- Achaians 133, 138, 155, 156
Acheloiios 107
adaptation 22, 126, 161
Admetos 83, 84, 95, 98
Aeolic 11, 12, 111, 139
 see also metre
Aeschylus 18, 86, 120, 193, 208, 213,
 216, 226
Agelaos 122
Aigeus 189, 191, 192, 193, 200
Aithra 180
Aitna 100, 252
Akousilaos 135, 146, 206
Akrisios 145, 148, 226
Alexander the Great 232
Alexandrian library 26, 27
 see also Mouseion
Alexandros, son of Amyntas 9, 244,
 246
Alkaïos 15, 164, 165, 249
Alkman 1, 2, 11, 18, 211, 221, 236
alliteration 215
Althaia 120, 123, 124, 257
Amazons 192
Amphitrite 173, 174, 176, 185
anacalasis 16
Anakreon 15, 245
anaphora 235
Anaxilas of Rhegion 15
anceps 15, 17
Ankaïos 122
Antenor 157
anthology 28, 160, 223
anticipated apposition 91
antistrophe 14, 83
Anyte 233
Aphrodite 5, 176, 186
apocope 12
Apollo 7, 8, 81, 83, 84, 106, 164, 168,
 172, 220, 223, 228, 234
Apollonia 3, 4, 25, 172
Archilochos 1, 5, 211, 240
archives 25
Ares 222
Argos (giant) 205, 206, 207
Argos (town) 135, 137, 145
Ariadne 173, 175, 177
Arion 6, 183, 184
Aristarchos 7, 26, 27, 29, 173
Aristonoos 189
Aristophanes 25, 225, 248
Aristophanes of Byzantion 10, 14, 26,
 27
Artemis 121, 133, 135, 136, 138, 144,
 154, 156, 219
asyndetic pairs of epithets 215
asyndeton 23, 92, 96, 113, 131, 141,
 163, 164, 186, 187, 211, 212, 242,
 252
Athena 157, 174
Augustus 227

baccheus 16
brevis in longo 14

catalexis 16
centaur 166
 see also Nessos
choriambic dimeter 17
classification 6, 27, 173
clausula 16, 209, 222
cock 103
cola 14
colometry 14, 27, 30, 255
colour 19, 122
colour compounds 19, 121, 127, 153
compounds 12, 26, 86, 103, 104, 117,
 125, 159
conditional clause 104, 121, 123, 142
consecutive infinitive 87, 231

- contrast 20, 92, 93, 105, 109, 113, 117,
127, 144, 164, 171, 214, 242
- convivial poetry 25, 248
- coronis* 27
- correction 13, 170
- cretic* 16, 17, 209
- cult songs 2, 3, 25
- Cyclopes 151
- dactyloepitrite 15, 17, 85, 209, 244,
252, 256
- Danaos 151
- dancing 7, 155, 185, 219, 220
- Dante 113
- Deianeira 107, 166
- Deinomenes, son of Hieron 79, 100,
106, 252
- Delia: *see* Apollonia
- Demokritos 225, 226
- Dickens 126
- Didymos 25, 27, 173
- digamma 13, 119, 221
- Dike 105, 225
- Dionysos 5, 6, 135, 147, 165, 205, 208,
217, 248
- dissimilation 118
- dithyramb 2, 3, 5, 6, 23, 25, 157,
165
- dolphin 184
- Doric 11, 12, 13, 18, 111
- dramatic climax 21, 23, 92, 94, 137,
164, 187
- dramatic tension 176, 181
- Dryopes 223, 227
- dual 201
- eagle 113, 114
- Egypt 249
- Eirene 225
see also peace
- élitism 3, 111
- elliptical narrative 22
- emotional appeal 20, 21, 23, 125, 145,
214
see also pathos
- encomiologicum* 15
- enkomion* 239, 240, 244, 251
see also negative *e.*
- Epaphos 208, 217
- ephebe 189, 191, 203, 205
- epic flavour 161
- epic forms 11
- epic lengthening 13
- epic poetry 18
- Epicharmos 22, 96
- epithets 19, 20, 145
- epode 14, 84, 138
- Eriboia 176, 179
- etymology 23, 91, 99, 112, 114, 121,
155, 211, 224, 229
- Euenos, son of Ares 219, 220, 240, 242
- Eumelos 11
- Eunomia 163, 225
- Euphronios 174, 178
- Euripides 92, 225, 231, 232
- Eurystheus 107
- flowers 98, 168, 172, 217, 231, 252
- formal structure 22, 24, 83, 109, 130,
136, 145, 193
- François Vase 108, 122, 174, 176
- future 99
- Gelon, son of Deinomenes 89, 115
- generosity 88
- Giants 157, 164
- glyconic 14, 16, 209
- gnomai* 24, 84, 85, 96, 97, 109, 117, 186,
188, 236
- gold 97, 139, 180, 214
- Graces 23, 162
- Gyges 82, 91
- Helen 5, 157, 158, 164
- hellanodikai* 8
see also judges
- hemiepes* 14, 209
- Hera 120, 134, 137, 146, 205, 214
- Herakleides Pontikos 193
- Herakles 107, 117, 166, 191, 223
- herald 24, 100, 158, 191
- Hermes 205, 206, 215, 217, 220

- Herodotos 6, 81, 226, 244
 Hesiod 128, 135, 142, 147, 163, 205,
 211, 225
hiatus 13, 94, 98, 189
 Hieron, son of Deinomenes 4, 9, 22,
 27, 79, 100, 106, 195, 226, 250, 251
 Hipparchos, son of Peisistratos 9
 Hippodameia 220
 Homeric compounds 19
 Homeric forms 19
 Homeric vocabulary 19
 Horace 28
 horses 87, 106, 115, 116, 184, 220, 243,
 251
 see Phereikos
 Hybris 163
 Hyperboreans 82, 84, 94, 164

 iambic: *see* metre
 Ibykos 5, 18, 96, 113
 Idas 219, 220, 243
 imperfect of attempted action 150
 intertextual reference 96, 126, 162
 see also 'quotation'
 intrusive gloss 170, 171, 180, 232
 Io 205, 207
 Iole 171
 Ionians 193, 232
 Ionic 11, 13
 ionic dimeter 16
 irony 119, 171, 191, 195, 200, 204, 214,
 217
 ivory 249

 judges 8, 142, 244
 see also *hellanodikai*

 Kalamis 79, 107
 Kallimachos 7, 25, 26, 27, 29, 173
 Kalydonian Boar 108, 121
 Kerberos 107, 118
 Kerkyon 197
 Keyx 224, 227
 Kimon 190, 202
 Kleio 83, 86
 Kleopatra 257

 Kroisos 21, 80, 226
Kypria 158, 161, 176
 Kyros 81, 92

 Lasos of Hermione 5
lekkythion 16, 17
 'Lemnian fire' 203
 linen 218
 'link-syllable' 15, 17, 209
 literary models 22, 110, 126
 see also intertextual reference
 Longos 201
 lost victory 141, 142, 143
 love-charm 166, 167
 lyric poetry 1

 Maas's Bridge 112
 Marpessa 219, 220, 240, 243
 Melampous, son of Amythaon 134,
 135, 147, 230
 Meleagros 107, 118, 257
 Menelaos 6, 157, 158, 226
 metre: aeolic 16, 85, 209
 iambic 15, 16, 85
 trochaic 15
 see dactyloepitrite
 Mikon 176
 Milton 114, 118
mimesis 173
 Minos 173, 175
 Minotauros 173, 175, 192
 Mnasalkas 233
 Moira 179
 Mouseion 26
 Muses 23, 83, 86, 96, 162, 185, 208,
 210, 211, 217
 see also Kleio, Ourania
muta cum liquida 12
 Myson 80, 82, 93

 name-cap 96, 98, 204
 negative *enkomion* 239, 256
 negative superlative 94
 Nereids 176, 185, 188
 Nessos 166
 nightingale 96, 100

- Nika, Nike 138, 139, 140
 Niobe 147, 255, 256
Nostoi 133
- Odysseus 158, 226
 Oichalia 169
 Oinomaos 174, 220
 Onatas 79, 107
 Onesimos 25, 174, 178
 oral poetry 1, 136
 oratory 215
 Orphic eschatology 83
 Ourania 103, 112, 132
 Ovid 214, 217
- paean 2, 3, 5, 25, 164, 223
 paeon 16, 17
 Paktolos 92
 Panathenaia 4, 157, 189
 Panhellenic festivals 7
paragraphos 27, 30
 Parmenides 127
 pathos 21, 92, 121, 123, 125, 170
 Pausanias 28, 133, 176, 229
 peace 5, 129, 150, 163, 225, 231, 233
 Peisistratos 4, 191
 Pelops 220
 Pergamon 26
 period 14
 Pherekydes 134, 135, 146, 152
 Pherenikos 79, 101, 107, 253
Phoronis 136
 Phrynichos 108, 123, 148
 Pindar 2, 6, 9, 17, 25, 79, 86, 94, 97, 100, 106, 107, 111, 116, 127, 128, 130, 131, 139, 140, 155, 181, 187, 188, 197, 210, 211, 225, 230, 231, 234, 236, 237, 238, 244, 245, 246, 248, 250, 252
 Plato 25, 227, 228, 232, 236
 Plutarch 28, 178, 192, 197
 Polykrates of Samos 4, 96
 Polypemon 197
 Polyzalos, son of Deinomenes 101, 105
- Poseidon 7, 176, 182, 184, 185, 196, 220
 'programme' 24, 83
 Proitos 21, 134, 137, 145, 148, 226
 Prokoptas (Prokroustes) 197
prolepsis 84, 145, 154, 170, 180
 Prometheus 93, 126
prosodion 235
 Ptolemy I Soter 26
 pun 129, 130, 179, 185
 purple 146, 202
- quotation 22, 28, 85, 96, 125, 128, 162
- repetition 24, 85, 98, 117, 235
 responsion 14, 27, 102, 168, 170
 'ring-composition' 24, 137, 138, 148
- Sappho 245
 Sardis 92
 self-address 212
 self-confidence 113
 self-exhortation 252
 self-presentation 100
see also sphragis
 silence 98
sillybos 30, 157
 simile 109, 113, 115, 118, 126
 Simonides 9, 11, 15, 18, 25, 128, 130, 132, 178, 192, 194, 220
 Sinis 196
 Skiron 197
skolion 238
 Solon 81, 91, 157, 163, 249
 song as 'path' 23
 Sophocles 18, 123, 166, 167, 170, 259
sphragis 85
 statues 2, 115
 Stesichoros 18, 94, 108, 109, 122
 Strabo 28
 strophe 14, 27, 83, 138
 Styx 139
 superlative 106, 111, 116, 141, 195, 212, 254
 negative s. 94

- swan 165, 168
 symmetry 24, 25, 84, 85, 109, 137, 138,
 148, 204
synekphonesis 90

 Terpander 245
 Theano 157
 Themis 163
 Theognis 226
 Theokritos 232
 Theseus 173, 189
 'Throne of Amyklai' 207
 Tibullus 233
 Timokreon 239
 Tiryns 135, 137, 145, 148, 151
 titles 6, 28, 29, 30, 157, 175, 205, 238,
 251
 tragedy 4, 6, 18, 20, 81, 92, 146, 170,
 171, 191, 200, 205, 236

 tragic plot 167
 transition 83, 84, 85, 115, 117, 127, 137,
 138, 140
 triad 14, 27
tricolon 121, 139, 195
 tripods 89, 98, 115, 165
 trochaic *see* metre
 trumpet 194, 233

 verbal correspondence 130
 verbal echo 137, 149
 Virgil 119

 willingness-motif 109, 110, 113, 128,
 129, 246
 wings 245

zeugma 231
 Zeus 7, 84, 88, 104, 127, 132

2. GREEK WORDS

- ἄ 171
 ἀβροβάτας 93
 ἀγάθος 94
 ἄγαλμα 111
 ἀγανός 258
 Ἀγλαία 87
 ἀγνισαί 89, 148
 ἀδιδαντος 187
 ἀελλοδρόμας 115
 ἄθεος 154
 αἰγλάεις 250
 αἰολόπρυμνος 26
 αἰών 186
 ἄλαστος 91
 ἀλήθεια 99
 ἄλοχος 171
 ἀλυκτάζειν 152
 ἀμειμάκετος 149
 ἀμείβειν 196
 ἀμετρόδικος 150
 ἀμύσσειν 195
 ἀμφιβάλλειν 195
 ἀμφιπολεῖν 236

 ἀναιδομάχας 121
 ἀναπάλλεσθαι 149
 ἀργεῖφόντης 205
 ἀρετή 3
 ἀτάρβακτος 123
 ἄτρυτος 114
 αὐδάεις 161
 αὐλοί 1
 αὐχεῖν 179

 βάρβιτος 245, 252
 βαρύς 180
 βλέφαρον 141
 βοώπις 153
 βρίθεσθαι 234
 βρύειν 89, 132, 218

 γε μέν 98
 γελανοῦν 119
 γνῶμαι 2

 δαίμων 170, 171, 172, 180
 δαΐφρων 122

- δέρκειν 182
 διαιθύσσειν 247
 Δίκαι 163, 179
 δίκαι 200
 δίκη 163
 δοιάζειν 152
 δονεῖν 237
 δυσπαίπαλος 114

 ἐγκώμιον 2, 239
 εἰ in causal sense (= *siquidem*) 253
 εἰκάς 246
 ἐκδιδόναι 243
 ἐλεφαντόκωπος 201
 ἐνδυκέως 122, 123
 ἐντύνειν (ἐντύνειν) 228
 ἐπίνικος 2
 ἐρατός 145
 εὐθύδικος 111
 εὔμοιρος 110
 εὐοχθος 228

 ἧ 112, 199, 213, 216
 ἧρα + genitive 141

 θελημός 183
 θρῆνος 2

 ἰάπτειν 237
 ἵπποδίνητος 110
 ἴσχειν 180
 ἰσχυρός 199

 καλά 99
 κέλευθος 23, 210, 257
 κοινοῦν 162
 κρατεῖν 132
 κύδος 3
 κυνέα 201
 κώμος 239

 λάσκειν 104
 λείριος 184

 μαρμαρυγαί 89
 μέγαλαυχος 179
 μελαμφαρής 88

 μέλας 179
 μελίφρων 233
 μέλος 1
 μέριμνα 212, 216
 μήδεσθαι 105

 Νίκα 137
 νωμᾶν 114

 ξανθός 115
 ξένος (adjective) 151

 ὀλολύζειν 188
 ὀξύτερος 241
 ὀρμᾶν 257
 ὄρος 235
 ὀρσίμαχος 159
 ὄσιος 179
 οὔλιος 203

 παλαινίζειν 188
 παλίντροπος 147
 πανδερκής 182
 πανόπτῃς 207
 πίπτειν 178
 πλείσταρχος 88
 ποδάνεμος 132
 πολύπλαγκτος 143
 που 120
 πρίν + subjunctive 168
 πρόδομος 130, 132

 σοεῖν 184
 στολά 198
 σφραγίς 100
 σχάζειν 187

 τανυάκης 258
 τε 139, 203, 211
 τίκτειν 231
 τὸ δέ (demonstrative pronoun) 237
 τυγχάνειν 155
 τύχα: σὺν τύχῃ 155

 ὑγρός 185
 υἱός 118

ὕμνος 112, 211
ὕφαινεῖν 112, 211
ὕψιδαίδαλτος 90

φᾶρος 178
φθόνος 95, 128, 156
φιλεῖν 102
φλέγειν 234
φραδαί 214
φυλλοβολία 104, 141

χάρις 85, 99, 211
χθόνιος 241
χλαμύς 203
χρέος 128
χρή 128
χρυσάορος 91
χρυσηλάκατος 144
χρυσοκόμας 102
ψυχή 146